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PRESS OF
CHARLES HAMILTON,
WORCESTER,
MASS.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. V.

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OCTOBER, 1887 — OCTOBER, 1888.



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CHARLES HAMILTON,
WORCESTER,
MASS.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

15-11-13

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

CHARLES DEANE.
EDWARD E. HALE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.

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NOTE.

Reports of the annual meetings in October, 1887 and 1888, of the stated meeting in April, 1888, and of a special meeting of the Council on October 20, 1888, following the death of Dr. Joseph Sargent, with the papers presented at these meetings, make up the Fifth Volume, New Series, of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. The Hon. George F. Hoar, elected as President in October, 1884, felt compelled by the pressure of other duties to lay down the office after three years of service, and was succeeded by Stephen Salisbury, A.M. In October, 1887, was inaugurated the plan of publishing an essay,—written by the member of the Council to whom was assigned the duty of preparing the semi-annual report,—as a separate paper and not as a part of the report itself. So we have herewith essays from Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, on the Estimates of Population in the American Colonies; from President Salisbury, on Early Books and Libraries; and from Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale, on the Naval History of the Revolution.

The contributions to this volume include papers by Rev. Grindal Reynolds, Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., William B. Weeden, Reuben A. Guild, Andrew McFarland Davis, George H. Moore, Dr. George E. Francis, Robert Noxon Toppan, Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, Samuel Swett Green, J. Evarts Greene, Judge Hamilton B. Staples, and John M. Merriam.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, April 24, 1889.

ERRATA.

Page 47, line 7 from bottom, for Force's Tracts IV. 9 read IV. 5.

Page 96, line 3 from top, for *Page* read *Paige*.

Page 108, note 4, for 1812 read 1862.

Page 161, line 16 from bottom, for John N. read John M.

Page 180, line 6 from bottom, for December 24 read December 16.

Page 417, line 5 from bottom, for *Lewis* read *Sims*.

Page 490, note 4, for Vol. IV. read Vol. II.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1887, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., in
the chair.

The following members were present (the names being
arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E.
Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Pea-
body, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Joseph Sargent,
Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard,
George S. Paine, Francis H. Dewey, James F. Hunnewell,
John D. Washburn, Edward H. Hall, Reuben A. Guild,
Charles C. Smith, Hamilton B. Staples, Edmund M. Bar-
ton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B.
Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor,
Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Andrew McF.
Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B.
Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, William W.
Rice, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, Edward Chan-
ning, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, Henry W.
Foote, and Edward H. Thompson, a foreign member.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the last
meeting, which was approved.

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., read a report which had
been prepared by him and adopted by the Council as a
part of their report to the Society.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, submitted his
report in print, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Libra-
rian, read his report.

These reports, as together constituting the Report of the Council, were, on motion of JUSTIN WINSOR, Esq., accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Recording Secretary communicated from the Council their recommendation of the following named gentlemen for membership in the Society :

THOMAS CHASE, LL.D., of Providence, R. I.

EDWARD GAY MASON, A.M., of Chicago, Ill.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D., of Ithaca, N. Y.

And as a foreign member, Rt. Hon. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, D.C.L., of London, England.

All of whom were elected, a separate ballot being taken on each name.

The Society then proceeded to choose a President, Mr. HOAR declining to be a candidate, in accordance with the statement made by him at the semi-annual meeting. A ballot being taken STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was chosen, and was welcomed to the office by the retiring President, who spoke as follows :

Before making the formal announcement of the result of the vote the Chair desires to say a few words. In laying down the honorable trust which this Society has conferred upon me, I wish to express my grateful sense of that uniform kindness and support, without which its administration must have been a failure. The Society was never better equipped for its special work than it is now, as it enters upon the fourth quarter of its first century. I have had occasion lately to make some researches into the history of the settlement of the Northwest. I have been astonished at the wealth and completeness of the collections of material for history contained in our library. We have a body of young workmen who will more than make good the places of their predecessors.

It cannot be indelicate to allude to the elders who are still spared to us, who bring down to us their personal recollections of our founders. Mr. Bancroft and Mr.

Winthrop, whose names ornament our roll, have bestowed most of their historical labors elsewhere. But the successor of Mr. Winthrop in the presidency of our famous sister society¹ is with us to-day, and I believe now, for the thirty-seventh time, brings to our annual meeting the benefit of his sound judgment and affluent learning. We all of us had, I am sure, a feeling of personal pleasure and pride, when our oldest University at her centennial, bestowed her highest honor on another of our brethren,² as "Master among students of American history." We have another³ always constant at the meetings of the Council and the Society, who for sixty years has kept abreast of the best American scholarship, and of whose influence upon the character of his generation far better things even than that might be said. Dr. Hammond Trumbull, whom we are sorry to miss to-day, knows the history, the life, the manners, even the gossip of every New England generation from the beginning, as if he had been a contemporary. What a resource has this Society in the rich learning and indefatigable zeal in its service of another of our associates⁴—our Defoe, who possesses the two rarest of gifts, that to give history the fascination of fiction, and that to give fiction the verisimilitude of history!

The question is often raised whether our work is, after all, of any value. The doubt is raised, often, whether history be a science, or whether it has anything trustworthy to tell with which science can deal. It is said that all history is a lie, is only the story which those who have played their parts in it choose to have told. The men who inculcate this scepticism are, very often, men whose own career has been such that they are, to say the least, quite unwilling to have the truth known and believed in their own case.

Secret archives are sometimes uncovered which overthrow established beliefs as to great events and as to the

¹ Dr. George E. Ellis. ² Dr. Charles Deane. ³ Dr. Andrew P. Peabody.
⁴ Dr. Edward E. Hale.

character and service of great men. But I believe that the picture of human life, human character, human manners in the past, which makes up what we call history is, in the main, a true one. Those who raise these doubts, do not, I think, sufficiently consider the value of that sense or instinct in our intelligence, which enables us to recognize truth when it is presented to us and to distinguish it from falsehood. We are misled by false witnesses and false judgments, sometimes, in the conduct of our own affairs. But, in general, we are able to discern truth from error well enough to secure our own happiness and well-being.

An instance of this recognition of truth as truth, and of the purpose to tell the truth in the narrator, by the instinct common to humanity which recognizes facts as they present themselves, is the Greek historian, Thucydides. We have little by which the accuracy of his narrative can be tested. No contemporaries have dealt with the same period. No records or archives of Athens have survived, or of the states which were her allies or antagonists in the Peloponnesian war. He was an actor in the events of the war, a partisan, and for a long time an exile. Yet I suppose it never occurs to any man to doubt the absolute verity of a statement of Thucydides. In reading his matchless narrative we trust our instinctive recognition of its absolute truth, as we trust our vision, or our sense of hearing or smell.

Nothing remains, but to greet and welcome my successor, and to wish all good fortune in his office and in his life, to

— “the destined heir,
From his soft cradle, of his Father's chair,
Whose even thread the Fates spin round and full,
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.”

In accepting the office, Mr. SALISBURY said—

The action you have just taken affects me with a deep sense of the responsibility devolving on the president of this Society, and of my own too slender qualifications for

the office. After the very successful administration of yourself, Mr. President, with all the advantages to the Society of your position, attainments and exceptional gifts, the small measure of usefulness I can offer disappears from consideration, and I should greatly prefer that the place should be filled by some other selection. My interest in the objects of your organization is such that I feel that I could do more good in a subordinate position. Still, if it is your wish to place me in the chair, I shall endeavor to discharge the duties of presiding officer faithfully, relying on your constant assistance and kindly forbearance. Having always regarded the growth of the library as of primary importance, I desire to call the attention of the Society to the fact that for a long period one-half at least of our yearly accessions, which are very considerable, have been received from other sources than from members of the society. In return for these gifts the library has offered, and should continue to offer, such facilities for study and investigation as the most liberal policy of management will admit. Regretting exceedingly that our honored president so decidedly declines a longer continuance in office, I reluctantly accept the position, and will request that Senator Hoar consent to preside during the remainder of this session.

A committee, of which Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. was chairman, was appointed to nominate candidates for the remaining offices to be filled by election.

The committee reported the following nominations :—

Vice-Presidents :

Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Washington, D. C.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence :

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary:

HON. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All of the above officers being *ex-officio* members of the Council. And the following Councillors:—

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

HON. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

REUBEN COLTON, A.B., of Worcester.

The report of the committee was accepted and the gentlemen named therein were elected by ballot to the respective offices.

HENRY W. HAYNES, Esq., said :

At our late meeting in April, at which we had the pleasure of hearing so many interesting particulars in regard to various institutions of learning, our associate, J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., contributed an agreeable outline in detail of an especially notable one, the Roxbury Latin School. In it, however, there occurs a statement, the accuracy of which I will venture to call in question. Mr. GREENE remarks : "This school is doubtless the third in age of the institutions of learning in the United States. Its only seniors are the Boston Latin School and Harvard College. It was founded in 1645."¹

Now in a very rare pamphlet, published in London in 1643, it is stated that there is at Cambridge "by the side of the Colledg a faire Grammar Schoole for the training up of young Schollars and fitting of them for *Academical Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe they may be received into the Colledg. Of this Schoole Master Corlet is the Mr."² The exact date of the founding of this school is not known, but it evidently must have been prior to 1643.³

But we do know the exact date of the founding of a school at Dorchester. The records state—"It is ordered the 20th of May 1639 that there shal bee a rent of 20^{li} yereely forever imposed upon Tomson's Iland to bee payd to such a schoolemaster as shall undertake to teach English, Latin and other tongues, and also writing."⁴ "October 31, 1639. It is ordered that Mr. Waterhouse shall be left to his liberty on that point of teaching to write."⁵ Further on there are set forth at length rules and orders concerning the school, which were confirmed by the major part of the inhabitants then present."⁶

¹ Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society (N. S.), vol. iv. p. 348.

² New England's First Fruits, p. 12.

³ Paige's History of Cambridge, p. 366.

⁴ Dorchester Town Records, p. 43 (Fourth Rep. Record Commr's of Boston, p. 39). ⁵ Ibid., p. 44. ⁶ Dorchester Town Records, pp. 63-66.

At a date even earlier than this there can be found on the records of the town of Charlestown: "1636. June 3. Mr. W^m. Witherill was agreed with to keep school for a twelvemont to begin the eighth day of August."¹

The historian of Salem writes: "Of our first schoolmasters was Rev. John Fiske, who appears to have commenced his duties here in 1637."² It was under him that the celebrated Sir George Downing pursued his studies.³

On the records of the Grammar School at Ipswich there is the following note, though it has the appearance of having been copied: "1636. A Grammar School was set up, but does not succeed."⁴

Thus it would appear that Mr. Greene was hardly justified in making for his beloved school the claim of "taking the third rank in age among the existing schools of this country," although it may be impossible to determine to which this honor really belongs.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., desired to call the attention of Col. WASHBURN to the expression used by him in his remarks at the April meeting as to the bequests of Count Rumford. They were gifts, made in Count Rumford's life-time, not bequests, a very important distinction, and one on which depended largely the authority and jurisdiction of the Court.

Mr. HAYNES, referring briefly to what Mr. HOAR had said of Thucydides, said that an inscription relative to a treaty had recently been discovered at Athens, which is in exact accordance with the account given by Thucydides.

On motion of Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., the thanks of the Society were unanimously voted to the retiring president for his distinguished services in the chair.

¹Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 65.

²Felt's History of Salem, vol. i. p. 427. See Hist. Coll. of Essex Institute, vol. i. p. 37.

³Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. i. p. 29.

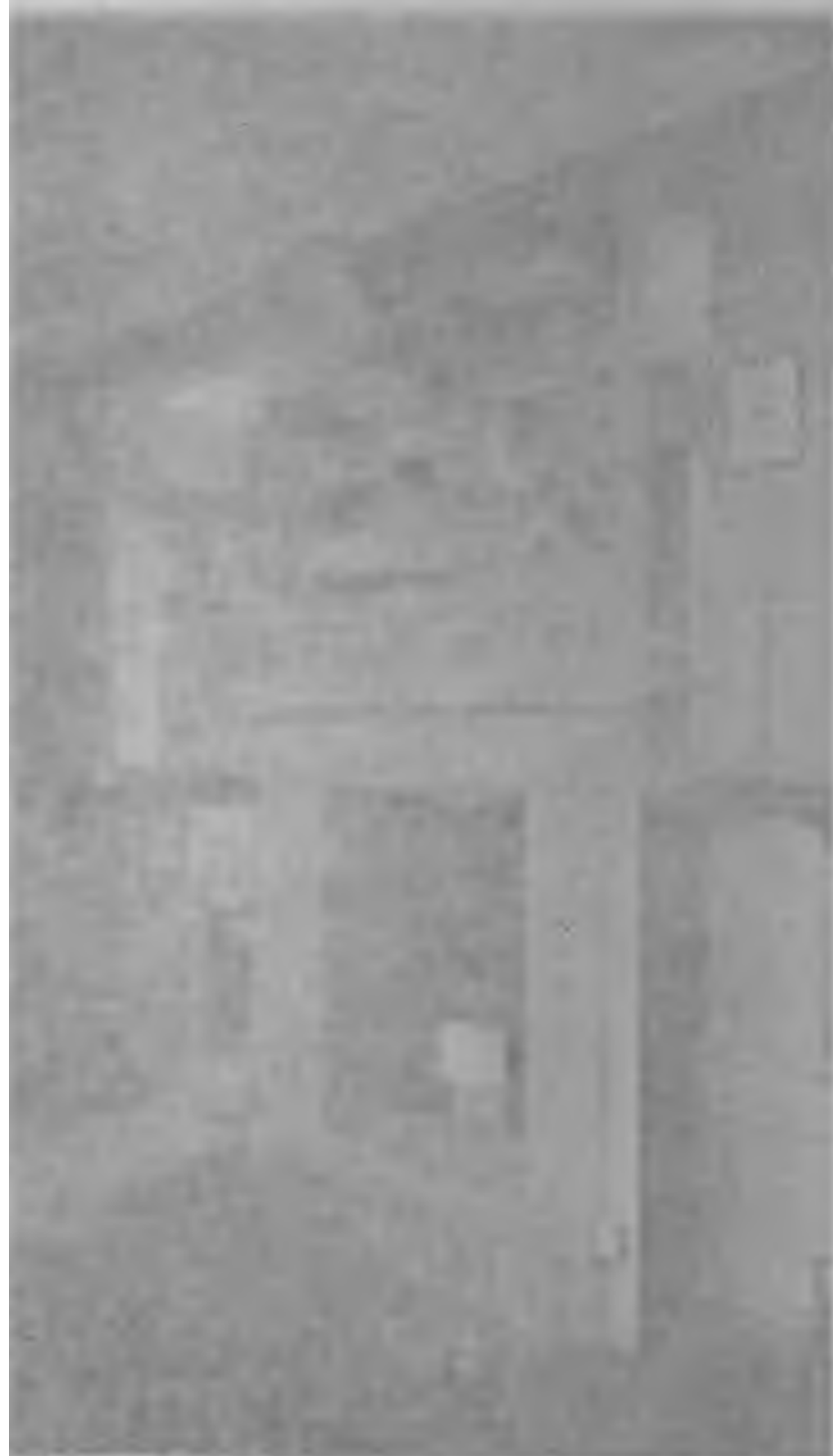
⁴Felt's History of Ipswich, Essex and Hamilton, p. 83.

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CAST OF PORTAL, FROM RUINS AT LABNA, YUCATAN.

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East of Federal Bank Tower at Union Square

Rev. GRINDALL REYNOLDS read a paper relating to King Philip's war and the fight at Brookfield.

Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., read a paper upon the same general subject, entitled "Wheeler's Defeat, 1675. Where?"

EDWARD H. THOMPSON, Esq., a foreign member and United States consul at Merida, Yucatan, presented to the Society the plaster reproduction of a façade of a ruined building at Labna, Yucatan, allusion to which was made at the April meeting. The plaster cast, a picture of which appears in this connection, secured by Mr. THOMPSON through the liberality of the President-elect, is set up in the west hall of the Society. The members present repaired to this room to inspect the work and the various casts and photographs made in connection with it.

In describing his work, Mr. THOMPSON said: During my earliest researches among the ruins of Yucatan, there grew in my mind the desire to give in some manner to the student of archæology, and to others interested more casually perhaps, an adequate idea of these mysterious edifices. Pen pictures, at best, give but a faint idea of them. Photographs, while fulfilling admirably certain conditions, nevertheless, give but little more than a phantom-like resemblance to reality. Therefore, the best, the only way, to fully accomplish my desires in this respect, was to reproduce an edifice, or such portions of it as would best serve my purpose. Furthermore, this reproduction must be an accurate one, else its value as an object of study for archæologists would be lost. True, with the aid of proportional photographs and measurements, a tolerably good reproduction could have been made, sufficient to be an object of interest to the casual visitor, but to my mind, the accuracy desired by the scientist could be obtained only by making moulds of some material, plastic enough to receive every impression, however faint, hardening afterward, in order to retain the impression when once received, and strong

enough to withstand the inevitable shocks and casualties of a long journey upon the backs of men and mules, upon springless drays and railroad trains.

After some months of experimenting, I succeeded in producing a composition containing all of the above qualities, and subjected it to thorough trial by practical tests. I then sought for the façade of an edifice, that should contain, within a suitable area, the characteristic examples and effects produced by the ancient builders.

While upon my expeditions to Labna, a certain façade had especially attracted my notice, as containing upon its surface, remarkably striking characteristic effects. It was a typical structure of the ancient workers. During explorations among nineteen recorded and unrecorded groups of ruins, I failed to find one other, that upon an equal surface, combined so much that was typical in character and striking in design. Having arranged these matters to my satisfaction and being convinced as to the practicability of the scheme, I communicated the idea to our fellow-member, Mr. STEPHEN SALISBURY, and aided by his kind offices and counsel, began the task, which, I am pleased to say, was completed successfully.

There were in this, as in other undertakings, disappointments, delays and obstacles, but they were not insurmountable, and to-day we have the honor of presenting to the Society, a cast representing a section of the most interesting façade in the ruins of Labna, a typical specimen of the ancient architecture of Yucatan.

The edifice of which this structure represents a section, is the largest one in the group of ruins known as Labna, and seems to have been still unfinished when deserted, and partially destroyed. Its carved and sculptured front, with its numerous turns and angles, has a length of over three hundred feet. Twenty or more chambers are as yet visible. Some of them, especially the one of which the entrance is here represented, are in a very perfect state, others are

buried and broken into almost utter ruin. The façade, of which the section before us is a part, is thirty-five feet long by eighteen feet high, and the entire upper portion of it is incrustated with rich carvings and ornaments. Complete moulds have been taken of this elaborate work and are now within this building. This section represents about one-fifth of the entire façade. It will be observed that the hieroglyphics inscribed upon the up-raised portion of the Serpent symbol, closely resemble some of the characters given in the Landa alphabet. Whether an American Rosetta Stone will enable us ever to decipher them is a question for the future to determine.

On motion of Hon. HAMILTON B. STAPLES, LL.D., the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. THOMPSON for his very valuable work in bringing to light one of the interesting ruins of Yucatan.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, Esq., read a paper on "The Early African Slave-Trade in New England."

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS, Esq., read by its title a paper entitled "A History of the First Scholarship at Harvard."

REUBEN A. GUILD, LL.D., read by its title a paper on "Roger Williams, Freeman of Massachusetts."

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., presented a paper written by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, entitled "John Hampden in America."

For all the above-mentioned papers, the Society voted its thanks, and they were referred to the Committee of Publication.

On recommendation of the Council, it was voted that the Society refer to the Committee of Publication with power to act, the question as to a separate presentation and publication of the Report of the Council in its business portion, and the essay which has for many years been published as a part of it.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully submit their Seventy-fifth Annual Report.

Our Charter dates from October 24, 1812: so that this week completes three-quarters of a century of organization, and it might be instructive at the present anniversary, if time allowed, to sum up the results accomplished in this round of years. The last occasion for a like review was in connection with the semi-centennial commemoration of 1862; and the briefest comparison of the present condition of the Society with what was then reported will indicate sufficiently, perhaps, our satisfactory progress.

In 1862, the Society's library, the centre of its activity, was estimated at about 34,000 volumes; the number of volumes now is at least 80,000, not to speak of large additions of valuable pamphlets, while the facilities for making these acquisitions useful to all inquirers have more than kept pace with the increase in numbers.

The permanent fund of the Society had, in 1862, reached \$42,500; while the total is now nearly \$104,000. The component parts of this total were, in 1862, only four,—of which the Bookbinding Fund remains substantially unchanged, but the Librarian's and General Fund, the Collection and Research Fund, and the Publishing Fund, have risen severally to twice or thrice their former value, and no less than eight special funds have been established by as many benefactors.

During this twenty-five years, the Society's publications, which attest to the world its right to live, have comprised three volumes of Transactions and fifty-three numbers of

Proceedings,—in amount keeping pace with the increase in the Library and Treasury, and in value not falling below our own high standard.

In 1862, the Society already owned and occupied this building, in smaller dimensions, but was cramped in the provision for its growing collections. Five years later, our munificent benefactor, President Salisbury, presented an adjoining tract of land, with the nucleus of a building-fund, thus making possible the erection of the western half of this hall in 1877, by which means our shelf accommodations were nearly doubled, while the connected improvements have increased beyond measure the convenience and the safety of administration.

The changes thus recalled awaken at this turning-point of history our lively congratulations and hopes; but the personal changes which accompany, inevitably, every such passage of years supply the strain of melancholy from which few human joys are free. "Other men labored, and we are entered into their labors." Our very progress is the strongest reminder of the devotion and zeal of such friends as our late President and our late Librarian, in preëminent measure, and of others who were associated with them.

At the date of the meeting in October, 1862, three of the Society's charter members were still living,—of whom the last, the Hon. Levi Lincoln, died in 1868. The senior members at the present date, Mr. Bancroft and Mr. Winthrop, were elected forty-nine years ago; and besides these two twenty others remain with us who were active members prior to the semi-centennial meeting.

Of the officers in 1862, no survivors remain except Dr. Hale and Dr. Deane, of the Council and the Publication Committee.

Turning to the record of the six months just elapsed, the Reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian, which are submitted separately, give in detail the current history of the Society in these departments.

We add the customary minute of losses by death. Four members of the Society have died since April:—Ben: Perley Poore, Elias Nason, Charles Rau and Spencer Fullerton Baird.

Major Ben: Perley Poore, of the seventh generation from Samuel Poore, who emigrated to Massachusetts in 1638, and settled, in 1650, on Indian Hill in the present township of West Newbury, was born, November 2, 1820, on this farm (which has never been alienated from the family), and in the house built by the first settler.

His grandfather, Daniel Noyes Poore, was a graduate of Harvard in 1777, and a physician of Newbury, and his father was engaged in mercantile business in New York City. His mother, Mary Perley Dodge, was a native of Georgetown, D. C., and so it happened that in his sixth year he was taken to Washington on a visit, and thus his personal recollections of the Capital began at almost the earliest possible moment. Five years later, he accompanied his parents on a trip to Europe. He was then for a short time a pupil in Dummer Academy, near his own door, and later in a New York school, while his father was expecting for him an appointment to the United States Military Academy; but the preparation for West Point proved so distasteful to the youth that he ran away from school, and for nearly two years was not traced by his friends. Meantime he came to Worcester (about 1837), and apprenticed himself as a printer with Jubal Harrington, the publisher of the *Republican* newspaper. When discovered he was persuaded to return home and begin the study of law; but the taste for journalistic enterprise and for independence had seized him, and his father soon bought for him the *Southern Whig*, a newspaper published in Athens, Georgia, which he edited for about two years, or until 1842, when the Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, of Alabama, was appointed Minister to Belgium, and Mr. Poore was invited to act as Secretary of Legation.

Mr. Hilliard returned to America in 1844, but Mr. Poore remained abroad until 1847, travelling extensively, and spending some time in Paris in the study of law, with a purpose of practising in New Orleans. In November, 1844, he was authorized by the Massachusetts Historical Society to procure copies of manuscripts in the French archives illustrating the history of New England; subsequently the State assumed the expense of this agency, and a voluminous collection of transcripts now in the State House attests the agent's activity.

During these years he began his career as a newspaper correspondent, furnishing the Boston *Atlas* with a series of letters under the signature of "Perley," afterwards so well known. He continued his connection with the *Atlas* after his return, and in December, 1848, assumed editorial management of the Boston *Daily Bee*, adding to this labor the next month a new venture in the form of a Sunday newspaper, called *Perley's Sunday Picnic*. His irregular training had not fitted him for successful business management, and in less than a year he gave up these enterprises. One more attempt followed, in 1850, when he started the Boston *Sunday Sentinel*, which was soon merged in another paper; and after this he confined himself to a more congenial field. His first letters as a Washington correspondent appeared in the *Atlas*, but in 1852 he undertook a similar service for the Boston *Journal*, to which paper, until his retirement in 1883, his dispatches signed "Perley," as accurate as they were entertaining, added an unfailing attraction.

Shortly before the Rebellion he was appointed, under Mr. Corwin's chairmanship, clerk of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and in 1861 his friend, Senator Sumner, procured for him the corresponding Senate clerkship. From this position he was transferred a year later to that of clerk of the Senate Committee on Printing, in which he continued (with one brief

interruption) until his death, thus having charge of the publication of several most important compilations: such were, his edition in two large octavos of the Federal and State Constitutions and Colonial Charters, published in 1877, and his useful Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications from 1774 to 1881, which appeared in one volume quarto in 1885. He also edited from 1867 the Congressional Directory, which under his hands took a much improved form, and he assisted in many historical and literary investigations, the results of which were credited to others. In these relations he enjoyed a familiar acquaintance with national leaders, and amassed the stores of information from which he drew for his latest original work, Perley's *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, published in two volumes in 1886. He was the author of numerous other volumes, most of them historical in their nature.

His tastes were such as to make his election to membership in this Society, in October, 1874, a source of great pleasure, and so lately as at our last annual meeting he was present and took part in the discussions of the morning. His health had been impaired already by serious illness, from Bright's disease, in the spring of 1884. He recovered from that attack, but his final illness, from the same cause, began on May 17, 1887, and terminated in his death, at Washington, on the 28th of the same month, in the 67th year of his age.

The military title by which he was known was a reminder of his organizing in 1861 a battalion of riflemen in Newbury, which formed the nucleus of a company in the 8th Massachusetts.

His wife, who survives him, was Miss Virginia Dodge, of Georgetown, D. C. Their children were two daughters, now deceased.

The Rev. Elias Nason was elected into this Society in October, 1865, and died in Billerica, Massachusetts, June

17, 1887, in the 77th year of his age. He was born in Wrentham, Massachusetts, April 21, 1811, the son of Levi and Sarah (Nelson) Nason, and the great-grandson of Willoughby Nason, who settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1712. In his infancy the family removed to the neighboring town of Hopkinton, where some of his early years were spent on the estate once occupied by Sir Henry Frankland. At the age of fifteen he was set to learn the business of paper-making, at a mill in Framingham, but his desire for education overcame all difficulties, and by teaching he gained the means for preparation for college at a school in Amherst, whence he went to Brown University, where he was graduated in 1835. In February, 1836, he was persuaded by relatives in the south to remove to that section, where he remained until July, 1840. During this time he pursued theological studies, edited (in 1837) the *Georgia Courier*, in Augusta, taught for three years in Waynesboro', in the adjoining county, and began his career as a public lecturer. After returning to Massachusetts, he was engaged for four years as a teacher in Newburyport. In the summer of 1849 he was licensed to preach by the Essex North Association of Congregational Ministers, and in the ensuing fall was appointed principal of the Milford High School. This post he held until his ordination as pastor of the Congregational Church in Natick, May 5, 1852. He was there brought into intimate relations with his distinguished parishioner, the Hon. Henry Wilson, of whom he afterward helped to write a campaign biography. Mr. Nason left Natick in November, 1858, to accept a call to the Mystic Church in Medford, and two years later he was transferred to the pastorate of the First Church in Exeter, N. H., where he continued until May, 1865. During the war he served on the United States Christian Commission, and wrote and spoke extensively for the Union cause. On leaving Exeter, he settled in (North) Billerica, Massachusetts, where his residence continued until his death, though

for much of the time he officiated regularly in vacant churches, in Massachusetts or Connecticut.

He was an industrious compiler and a fluent writer, and among his numerous publications the following of special historical interest will be remembered :—*Life of Sir Charles Henry Frankland* (1865), *Our National Song* (1869), *Memoir of Mrs. Susannah Rowson* (1870), *Gazetteer of Massachusetts* (1874), *History of the Town of Dunstable* (1877). He left in manuscript, incomplete, a *History of Hopkinton*, and a *Nason Genealogy*. He was also for many years a frequent lecturer before lyceums, on historical, musical and variously practical themes.

He was married, in November, 1836, to Miss Mira Ann, daughter of John Bigelow, of Framingham, one of the owners of the paper-mill where he learned his trade. She survives him, with three of their four sons and two daughters.

Dr. Charles Rau, Curator of the department of Antiquities in the United States National Museum at Washington, died on the 25th of July, 1887, at the age of 61.

He was born in Belgium in 1826, and was a nephew of Karl Heinrich Rau, the distinguished Professor of Political Science at Heidelberg. In 1848, he came to this country, and for some time found employment as a teacher in or near St. Louis, as afterwards in New York City. While living in the latter place, he began to contribute to the *Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution* articles upon archaeological subjects, to which his maturer studies had been devoted. By this means he became known, both in this country and in Europe, as an authority in this department of science, especially in the study of the American stone age; and in 1876, he was attached permanently to the Smithsonian Institution as Assistant in Archaeology. His appointment as chief of the archaeological division of the National Museum, an outgrowth of the Smithsonian, followed in 1879.

as also of their Annual Record of Science and Industry, and used the opportunity to bring out a vast amount of instructive, critical work.

Professor Baird's scientific eminence was recognized by many foreign societies, which enrolled him in their ranks. His membership in this Society dates from April, 1880.

His manifold and responsible public labors, with unremitting private studies, undermined his health. When he went in June, 1887, to Woods Holl, Massachusetts, the chief summer-station of the U. S. Fish Commission, he was evidently much broken: and his death occurred there, on August 19th, in the 65th year of his age.

He married Mary, daughter of Inspector-General Sylvester Churchill, of the U. S. Army, who survives him with one daughter.

For the Council,

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

From such occupations he was soon called to a Professorship of Natural Science in Dickinson College, and after a brief tenure of this position left it in July, 1850, to accept the Assistant Secretaryship of the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, with which his name and work were thenceforth identified. In May, 1878, after the death of Professor Henry, he was elected by unanimous vote of the Regents, Secretary of the Institution, and in this office he continued till his death.

Latterly much of his time was absorbed in the duties of U. S. Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, a position to which he was appointed by President Grant in 1871.

In summarizing his qualifications as an officer of the Smithsonian, his lifelong friend, Professor Dana, emphasizes justly¹ "his breadth of knowledge in the sciences of nature, his sympathy with other workers over the land, his indefinite powers of work, his systematic methods, and his eagerness to make the Institution national in the highest sense of the term, and also scientifically and practically useful." Along with the multiform activity imposed by these standards were his unsalaried services as Commissioner of Fisheries, devoted especially to the philanthropic purpose of enlarging that valuable section of the food-supply of the world.

His personal contributions to the literature of science were voluminous and important,—the most elaborate being his account of the Birds of North America, prepared in conjunction with Messrs. Cassin and Lawrence in 1858, and his more complete History of North American Birds, issued in 1874, with the assistance of Messrs. Brewer and Ridgway. His original work in the description of North American mammals and reptiles was also of signal value; and his numerous official Reports abounded in original matter of the first quality. From 1870 to 1878, he was the scientific editor of the periodicals issued by the Harpers of New York,

¹ *Amer. Journal of Science*, Oct. 1887, 320.

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For the Council,

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

IN accordance with custom the member of the Council to whom is entrusted the duty of formulating their Report is permitted to present therewith a discussion of some subject of general historical interest, for which he is more directly responsible. The present writer offers, therefore, some observations on the Estimates of Population in the American Colonies.

I am not aware that any attempt has been made to discuss in a connected way the scattered estimates of the numbers of inhabitants from time to time in the several colonies which afterwards became the United States of America. The materials at command are so meagre as to discourage inquiry, but a conviction that a beginning should be made in the arrangement of the data we have, and a hope of opening the way for useful deductions, have moved me to offer this study.

Certain elements of difficulty are inseparable from the attempt. In America, under the colonial regime, there was but little systematic collection by authority of trustworthy population-statistics. For long periods, in most of the colonies, there was an utter dearth of even the pretence of knowledge; while such estimates as we have, there is reason to suspect, are often intentionally misleading, when officials, on the one hand of the boastful, or on the other hand of the timid type, thought to serve some interest by exaggeration or by understatement. In many of the returns,

moreover, there is a failure to specify whether certain classes of the community, as negroes and Indians, are included; often, however, such uncertainty vanishes by an inspection of the figures. Other elements of vagueness and of perplexity will suggest themselves, as we consider the field in detail.

Taking the colonies in the usual geographical order, the first is the Province of New Hampshire, in which there are no peculiarities or extraordinary variations to be noted, but a tolerably uniform though slow rate of increase.

The separate history of the district is merged from 1641 of 1679 in that of Massachusetts Bay; and for the earliest period, that prior to the protectorate of Massachusetts, our associate, Col. Albert H. Hoyt, in a paper contributed to our Proceedings,¹ estimates that "the entire population * * * did not much exceed, if it equalled, one thousand souls." The figure suggested is, I think, too large, in comparison with the earliest official basis of calculation, namely, the 209 qualified voters at the date of the first General Assembly after the erection of New Hampshire into a Royal Province.² True, the list of voters in 1680 by no means embraced the whole male population of voting age; but so far as it gives any clue, it implies less than 1,000 inhabitants in 1641, and less than the 4,000 and the 6,000 which Mr. Bancroft assigns to these towns in 1675 and 1689, respectively.³

The first contemporaneous figures are those in a Report by the Lords of Trade on the American Plantations in 1721, to the effect that the number of people on Governor Shute's arrival in 1716 was computed at 9,000, and the increase up to the last hearing was about 500.⁴ Between this testimony

¹ April, 1876, 91.

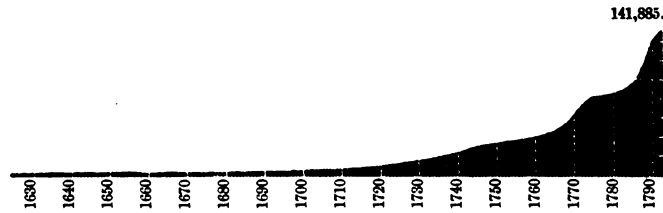
² Belknap's Hist., ed. Farmer, i., 91.

³ Hist. U. S., i., 383, 608; all references to Bancroft are to the last revision, unless otherwise stated.

⁴ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y., v., 595, and Palfrey's Hist. of N. E., iv., 457. Cf. a similar estimate in Chalmers's Hist. of Revolt.

and the first census a valuable hint comes from the statement of John Farmer, chief of New Hampshire antiquaries, that the ratable inhabitants in 1732 were under 3,000,¹

NOTE. The side-numerals in this and following wood-cuts indicate 100,000, 200,000, etc.



implying a total of from 12 to 13,000. Another local authority preserves the polling list in 1761,² which indicates about 38,000 inhabitants; while the first attempt at actual enumeration was a census, six years later, gathered from the returns of the selectmen, and amounting to 52,700 souls,³ which points to a somewhat more rapid growth than before.

A second Provincial census, after another six years' interval, yielded over 72,000,⁴ and a less complete return obtained for the State Convention of 1775 assigned a total of about 81,000,⁵ or double the number in the Province some thirteen years before. Natural growth and the recuperation after the war brought these figures up to

¹ 2,946; in Holmes's Annals, 2d ed., ii., 539. Dr. Wm. Douglass (in his Summary, ii., 180) estimates 24,000 in 1742, which is credible; notice should be taken of the gain of territory in 1740 from Massachusetts. British officials estimated the white inhabitants in 1749 at 30,000 (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). Burnaby's Travels (2d ed., 151) stated about 40,000 in 1759.

² 9,146 (Rev. Samuel Langdon, in Holmes's Annals, ii., 540).

³ Provincial Papers of N. H., vii., 170. Bancroft's estimate (ii., 38) of 50,000 whites in 1754 is excessive, and still more so Winsor's (Narrative and Critical Hist. of Amer., V, 151), taken from the Board of Trade's figures, 75,000 in 1755, quoted by Bancroft in early editions (iv., 128-9), but discarded by him later.

⁴ 72,092 (Provincial Papers of N. H., x., 625-36).

⁵ Provincial Papers of N. H., vii., 780-81. This return was made to correct the wild estimate of Congress, which was in one form 102,000, exclusive of slaves, or as otherwise reported (John Adams's Works, vii., 302) 150,000.

95,000¹ in 1786, and to 141,885 in 1790. None of these estimates include the Vermont towns, to which New Hampshire so long laid claim, and which by 1790 rivalled her own numbers of ten years before.

In the case of Massachusetts the population-curve can be more confidently traced. The slow and painful growth of Plymouth Colony had brought together "near 300" persons² in 1630, when Boston was founded; while in two years after that date the plantation at the Bay had expanded to about 2,000.³

An early basis for calculation is the apportionment of troops for the New England Confederacy in 1643, when the quota of Massachusetts Bay was five times that of Plymouth, in which colony there were then 627 males of military age.⁴ The population is usually computed as from four and a half to five and a half times the number of militia. This yields as a probable total in 1643 for Massachusetts (including Plymouth, but not the New Hampshire towns) from 16,000 to 17,000 souls; Dr. Palfrey prefers the higher figure,⁵ but the lower is the safer limit.⁶

The full stream of immigration which had fed hitherto the Bay Colony, ceased after 1640, when Massachusetts contained probably as many people as the rest of British America; and some retardation of the rate of increase, unequalled in the early stages of any other colony, except Pennsylvania, then set in. For sixty years, however, we have no direct estimates of any value, and must for the interval fall back on such computations as the important

¹ 95,755 (Provincial Papers, x., 689).

² Patent to Bradford. Cf. Lowell Inst. Lectures on Early Hist. of Mass., 169.

³ T. Wiggan's Letter in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 3d series, viii., 322.

⁴ Palfrey's Hist., ii., 6.

⁵ *ibid.*, 5.

⁶ Intermediate estimates are:—for 1635, Plymouth, 500 (Palfrey, i., 166), and Massachusetts Bay, nearly or quite 5,000 (Rev. Henry M. Dexter's Roger Williams, 41); for 1636, 3,000, or at most, 4,000 (G. B. Emerson, in Lowell Inst. Lectures on Hist. of Mass., 465); for 1637, Plymouth, 549, and Massachusetts Bay, 7,912 (J. B. Felt, in Collections of Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 139); for 1639, the Bay, 8,592 (*do.*).

series prepared by our late associate, Dr. Joseph B. Felt, in 1845, for the American Statistical Association,⁶ largely on the basis of militia rolls. Judged by his careful figures, Dr. Palfrey¹ is substantially correct in assigning 30,000 to Massachusetts (including the new Province of Maine, as well as New Hampshire and Plymouth) in 1665, as also Mr. Bancroft² in assigning 37,000 to the same territory at the outbreak of Philip's war.³ Mr. Bancroft's next estimate, at the Revolution of 1689,⁴ of 44,000 for Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine, is an over-cautious deduction from the roll of the militia;⁵ on the other hand, Dr. Palfrey's hesitating suggestion⁶ of 60,000 as the total on the change of government in 1692, is slightly excessive.

The Board of Trade's Report in 1721⁷ gives a new basis for calculation, computing about 94,000 for Massachusetts; and though Dr. Palfrey⁸ styles this a "heedless exaggeration," his criticism may be criticised in turn as too sweeping.⁹ The next evidence of importance¹⁰ comes from the rate list of 1735, which registered 53,427 taxable polls,

¹ Collections of the Association, i., pt. 2.

² Hist., iii., 35. Felt estimates Massachusetts (including Plymouth, Maine and New Hampshire) at 28,777 in 1665. Capt. Edward Johnson's assumption of near 80,000 in New England in 1661 (*Wonder Working Providence*, ed. Poole, cxxiv-vi.), though approved by Doyle, seems to me quite impossible.

³ i., 383.

⁴ The extravagant misrepresentations of Cartwright in 1665 (30,000 militia), and of Randolph in 1676 (150,000 souls), are sufficiently exposed in Palfrey's Hist., iii., 36. Baylies (*Hist. of Plymouth Colony*, iii., 191) says that in 1676 one estimate was for Massachusetts 28,750 souls, and for Plymouth 7,500.

⁵ i., 608.

⁶ Reported by Sir Edmund Andros in 1690 as 8,413. Cf. Palfrey, iv., 136.

⁷ iv., 136. Winsor's *Hist. of America* (v. 92) gives 60-100,000 as the allowable range of estimates for this date. Felt (*Amer. Statist. Assoc.*, i., 142) computes 62,724 for 1695. Humphreys (*Hist. Account of S. P. G.*, 42) writes in 1701, "in Boston and Piscataway Government there are about 80,000 souls."

⁸ Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 597.

⁹ iv., 387.

¹⁰ The same Report of the Board of Trade reckons the militia in 1718 at 14,925 men, besides 300 officers and 800 exempts, 16,025 in all; the population, then, might well be over 85,000.

¹¹ An anonymous tract of 1731, quoted in Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, iii., 172, credits Massachusetts with "at least 120,000 white inhabitants."

that is, of white citizens (both male and female) aged sixteen years and upwards, besides a total of 2,600 blacks.¹¹ The accepted ratio of such polls to the population is that of 1 to 4; with a necessary allowance for evasions of the poll, a result of 145,000 and over is justified. A similar but less exact report for 1742² gives at least 165,000 inhabitants, substantially the same as the estimate for nine years later, furnished by Governor Pownall,³ who calls attention to "a great depopulation by small-pox and war," which had intervened; to which causes of retardation might have been added the loss of eight thriving towns transferred in this interval to Rhode Island and Connecticut, in the straightening of boundaries. With these serious drawbacks it is likely that Mr. Winsor's estimate⁴ of 200,000 for 1755 is nearer the truth than Mr. Bancroft's⁵ of 207,000 whites and 4,000 or 5,000 negroes in 1754.

In 1764 we reach the first Provincial Census, the returns of which, though not officially preserved, seem to have shown a total of 270,000 and upwards,⁶ and so mark the era of most vigorous growth before the Revolution. From

¹¹ Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 142, quoting Hist. of Brit. Dominions in N. America (published 1773); the same authorities estimate the militia in 1747 at 36,000, which would give a total of over 190,000,—probably too large.

² Douglass's Summary, ii., 180.

³ Memorial to Sovereigns of Europe (1780), 58; probably he derived his figures from the polling-list.

⁴ Hist. of Amer., v., 151, from the Board of Trade's Report, in Bancroft's early editions, iv., 129.

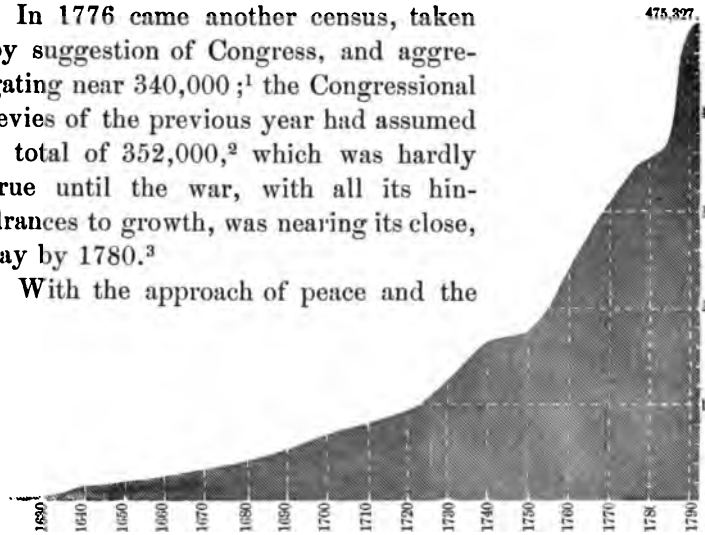
⁵ ii., 389, 391. The British official estimate in 1749 was 220,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). Pres. Ezra Stiles supposed 234,000 in 1754 (Holmes's Annals, ii., 538). Burnaby, in 1759 (Travels, 2d ed., 136), learned that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were "supposed to amount to 200,000." Gov. Pownall (Memorial, 58), arguing probably from the list of polls, and therefore underestimating, gives 216,000 as an approximate figure for 1761.

⁶ Felt (Amer. Statist. Assoc., i., 157) makes the total 254,253; but Dr. J. Chickering, in his Statistical View of the Population of Mass. (Boston, 1846), 4-5, proves omissions which make the result for what is now Massachusetts about 245,718, to which adding the District of Maine, we get 269,711. Dr. J. Belknap (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, iv., 198) remarks that this census, being an unpopular measure, was not accurately taken; so that Dr. Chickering's total may need to be increased.

her numbers, no less than her spirit, Massachusetts was entitled to vie with Virginia, the only larger colony, in leading the opposition to the Stamp Act.

In 1776 came another census, taken by suggestion of Congress, and aggregating near 340,000;¹ the Congressional levies of the previous year had assumed a total of 352,000,² which was hardly true until the war, with all its hindrances to growth, was nearing its close, say by 1780.³

With the approach of peace and the



new influx of foreign immigration began, as in almost all of these newly fledged republics, a wonderful recovery so rapid that while at the opening of the year 1786 the State authorities reported that returns lately made gave a population of about 357,000,⁴ the United States Census in August, 1790, adding 33 per cent. to this, reached the astounding figure of 475,327. With all allowance for the prosperity which flowed in like a torrent at this favored time, it is probable that the State returns for 1785 were 10,000 or 20,000 short of the truth.

¹ 338,667, in Chickering's *Statist. View*, 9; Felt (*Amer. Statist. Assoc.*, i., 131-2, 165) does not give the complete figures. Probably the returns were still below the actual population.

² Or in 1774, 400,000 (*John Adams's Works*, vii., 302).

³ Felt gives (*Amer. Statist. Assoc.*, i., 132, 170) the polling-lists for 1778 (76,854), 1781 (79,645), and 1784 (91,546). Bryant and Gay's *Popular Hist. of U. S.* (iv., 91) estimates 350,000 in 1782.

⁴ *Amer. Statist. Assoc.*, i., 170. Cf. Belknap in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, v., 198.

For the "Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," the conditions of our problem are simpler than in other parts of the field. The aptness which this government developed for the taking of censuses,—no less than seven being ordered within seventy-five years,—and the compactness of the territory to be surveyed, have resulted in furnishing comparatively abundant information; while the regularity of growth is also specially noticeable.

For the seventeenth century we have only the inferences of later generations. The nearest to a contemporary estimate is that of the historian Callender, that in 1658—fifty years to be sure before his own birth—there were, perhaps, fewer than 200 families¹ in the whole jurisdiction. If this figure deserves credence, it is likely that in 1663, when Charles the Second's Charter took effect, the white inhabitants were less than 2,000.² At the date of Philip's War they may have increased to 3,000,³ and at the Revolution of 1689 to 5,000.⁴

We come next to a Census taken in 1708, in conformity with a request from the Board of Trade. This showed 7,181 whites and negroes in the nine towns of the Colony,⁵ and was followed by another in 1730, similarly prompted, which gave a total of 16,950, besides 985 Indians.⁶ The Colony advanced at the same rate of growth⁷ until 1747, when a strip of territory was acquired from Massachusetts,⁸

¹ Hist. Discourse, 149, in R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections, iv.

² Bancroft (i., 363-4) thinks there may have been 2,500; Durfee (Discourse before R. I. Hist. Soc., 16) says, not over 3,000 or 4,000. Palfrey (Hist., iii., 35) conjectures 3,000 in 1665.

³ Bancroft (i., 383) says, perhaps 4,000.

⁴ Bancroft (i., 608) says, perhaps 6,000.

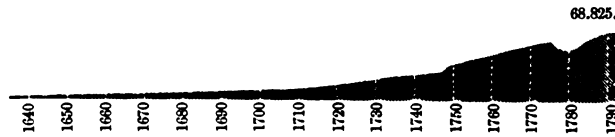
⁵ R. I. Col. Records, iv., 59; Arnold's Hist., ii., 32.

⁶ Callender's Hist. Discourse, 93, 94; Arnold's Hist., ii., 101. Chalmers (in Hist. of the Revolt, ii., 7,) cites a British estimate for 1715 of 9,000, which is too low.

⁷ Pres. John Adams, in his Twenty-Six Letters respecting the Revolution, written in 1780, says (Works, vii., 303), that in 1738 there were 15,000 inhabitants in R. I. Douglass (Summary, ii., 180) estimates 30,000 in 1742.

⁸ Containing 4,776 inhabitants (Arnold's Hist., ii., 166).

which accounts for the increase to over 34,000¹ in the third census, that of 1748, in response to more queries from the Board of Trade. After this the old rate of growth gave slightly over 40,000 in 1755,² at the last enumeration by British authority.



On the eve of the Revolution, the General Assembly, of its own motion, caused a most elaborate census to be taken, in June, 1774; and thus recorded almost the highest mark of prosperity in the Colonial stage,—not quite 60,000.³ Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill put a sudden stop to all this prosperity. With a British fleet threatening thenceforth her exposed territory, and half the population of her chief town scattered, no wonder that a census taken in June, 1776, on recommendation of the Continental Congress, showed a loss to Rhode Island of 5,000—8 per cent. of her total—within two years.⁴ Under the same causes, a census in 1782 showed a further reduction of 5 per cent.;⁵ but with the close of hostilities the tide turned, and the Federal Convention underestimated the truth in assuming 58,000⁶ as the probable population in 1787. The census of 1790 showed the figure at that date to be 68,825, leaving Rhode Island, as she had been for the preceding century, the most densely populated of any of the original States. Her share in the proceeds of the slave-trades

¹ Arnold, ii., 173. Cf. Snow's Report on the Census of R. I. for 1865, xxxii., xxxiv.

² 40,414, as given in Potter's Early Hist. of Narragansett, 174; 40,636, as given in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2d series, vii., 113, and (in more detail) in Pres. Ezra Stiles's MSS., in Yale University Library.

³ 59,707; printed in detail, with the names of all heads of families, in 1858.

⁴ 55,011; in Snow's Report on Census of 1865, xxxii.

⁵ About 52,400, one town which was in the enemy's hands not being reported; see Arnold's Hist., ii., 481.

⁶ Curtis's Hist. of the Constitution, ii., 168.

suggested incidentally by the fact that at the acme of her Colonial prosperity one person of every nine within her borders was either a negro or an Indian,—four or five times as great a proportion, that is to say, as in her neighbors, and unequalled anywhere north of Mason and Dixon's line.

Passing to Connecticut, we find there, with even more regular growth, no such openness in regard to its statistics. We are forced continually to remember that Connecticut pursued in her colonial history the policy of hiding her strength in quietness; so far as might not be inconsistent with general truthfulness, she preferred to make no exhibit of her actual condition.

The beginnings here were feeble as elsewhere. The historian Trumbull's conjecture¹ still commands respect, that at the close of the first year of settlement the original colony had increased to probably 800 persons, and Lord Say and Sele in 1642 testifies² to the understanding in England that the same settlements had grown by that time to over 2,000. At the establishment of the New England Confederacy in 1643, the towns along the Connecticut were rated as if containing nearly or quite 3,000 souls, and the younger Colony of New Haven as if numbering nearly or quite 2,500.³ From this date to the union of the two governments, Connecticut grew somewhat slowly,⁴ and New Haven was still less vigorous. I doubt if the total in 1665, when the union was finally adjusted, could have been over 9,000,⁵—about one-third the number in Massachusetts, and this proportion held good through that century.

In 1679 the authorities received a list of searching queries from the Lords of Trade, but contented themselves as to

¹ Hist. of Conn., i., 68.

² Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., i., 128.

³ Palfrey's Hist., ii., 5, 6.

⁴ Her ratable polls in 1654 were perhaps 825, and population about 4,000—4,500 (Colony Records, 1636-65, 265).

⁵ Trumbull says (Hist. of Conn., i., 287), 1,700 families, and 8—9,000 inhabitants; Palfrey says (Hist., iii., 35), 10,000 or more.

statistics of population with reporting the figures of the militia-rolls, which imply in the current decade an advance (almost wholly without help from immigration) from about 10,000 to 14,000.¹ For the next thirty years the numbers of taxable persons recorded annually with more or less fulness in the assessments of rates by the Colonial Assembly² are our best clues to the population, though these lists do not cover unincorporated neighborhoods, and new towns were apt to be released from being listed for a few years after incorporation. These clues justify Mr. Bancroft's supposition³ of from 17,000 to 20,000 in 1689, but require us to double almost the estimate in Trumbull's History⁴ of 17,000 in 1713.

In 1730 the Colony had another set of queries to answer, and found its interest again in minimizing the account of its resources: the inhabitants were computed at 38,700,⁵ probably about two-thirds the actual number. The discrepancy between fact and representation was still greater in 1749, when yet another list of troublesome inquiries from London was answered with a guess of 71,000⁶ for the population of a Colony, which less than seven years later, under a peremptory requirement of a house-to-house census, proved to have over 130,000.⁷

After this date progress was slightly checked for a time by the French war and by removals to newly conquered

¹ In 1671, 2,050 militia (from 16 to 60 years old); in 1676, 2,303; in 1677, 2,365; in 1678, 2,490; in 1679, 2,507. (Col. Records, 1678-89, 295, 298.) Other estimates are the following:—Peters, in 1670, 15,000, and in 1680, 20,000 (General Hist. Conn., 263); Bancroft, in 1675, nearly 14,000 whites (Hist., i., 383); Baylies, in 1676, 13,750 (Hist. of Plymouth Colony, iii., 191).

² Col. Records, *passim*.

³ i., 608.

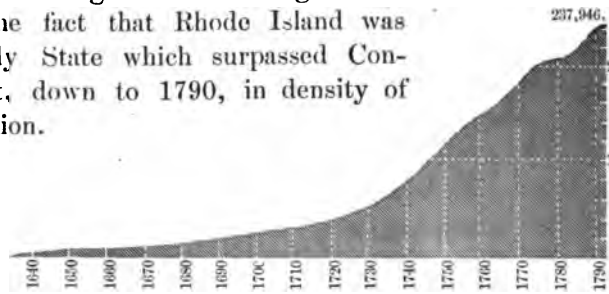
⁴ i., 451. Chalmers's Hist. of the Revolt (ii., 7,) cites an official estimate of 47,500 in 1715, which is much too large.

⁵ Col. Records, vii., 584.

⁶ Col. Records, ix., 596; the real figure was about double what it was at the last inquiry, and the British Government adopted 100,000 whites as their estimate (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12).

⁷ 130,612, or (according to another count) 132,416. Cf. Col. Records, x., 618, 623.

territory; but a census in 1761 gave a total of 145,590¹ and a higher rate of increase brought up the result before the Revolution to 200,000, exclusive of settlements in the Wyoming Valley.² Another census at the war's close, showed a gain, if only of 8,000,³ and the Federal census of 1790 gave 237,946, the tide of Western emigration preventing as rapid a growth as just before the war. That such emigration was foregone conclusion, is evident from the fact that Rhode Island was the only State which surpassed Connecticut, down to 1790, in density of population.



The Province of New York offers a marked contrast to Connecticut in its attitude towards superior authority, surpassing even Rhode Island in the frequency of its official enumerations. When wrested from the Dutch, in 1664, New Netherland may possibly have contained 7,000 souls,⁴—not quite as many as Connecticut, not one-quarter as many as Massachusetts; at their temporary restoration, nine years later, the Dutch estimated their own contingent in the Colony as about 6,000 or 7,000, to which must be added perhaps half as many English and other whites.⁵

¹ To this number might be added 930 Indians living among the whites (Col. Records, xi., 575, 630).

² A census in 1774 gave 196,088, without Wyoming (Col. Records, xiv. 490-1); the estimate of Congress in 1774 was 192,000, and another in 1775 was 262,000.

³ 208,870, in 1782; the Federal Convention of 1787 estimated Conn. at 202,000. (Curtis's Hist. of Const., ii., 168.)

⁴ J. A. Stevens, in Winsor's Hist. of America (iii., 385), says not over 7,000; Roberts (Hist. of N. Y., i., 95) thinks 8,000 a liberal estimate; O'Callaghan (Hist. of New Netherland, ii., 540) cites Dutch local authorities for full 10,000; a Memorial of Holland Traders (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., ii., 512) says over 8,000.

⁵ Documents relating to Col. Hist., ii., 526, and Roberts's N. Y., 107-9.

The Proprietary period of New York history ended with James the Second's downfall in 1689, but no new spirit of growth marked the change to a Royal Colony. A thorough census, the first of any magnitude in all the British Colonies, was ordered by the Governor, Lord Bellomont, in 1698, and yielded 18,067;¹ but the preceding decade had been one of alarms and of war, and the northern part of the Province had suffered from resulting emigrations, so that Mr. Bancroft's estimate² of not less than 20,000 at the Revolution of '89 is not seriously at fault.

Lord Cornbury took a second census, five years after, which yielded an increase of nearly 15 per cent.³ Then followed Governor Hunter's in 1712, which met with so much opposition, from superstitious fear of its breeding sickness,⁴ that only partial returns were obtained; these indicate a total of over 28,000.⁵ More satisfactory results were gained in the next attempts, and the censuses for 1723, 1731, 1737, and 1746, exhibit a regular progression, yielding in round numbers, respectively, 40,000, 50,000, 60,000 and 70,000.⁶ These results need probably to be modified by Governor Clinton's admission in reporting on the returns of yet another census in 1749,⁷ that since the officers have no pay for this service, it is performed reluctantly and carelessly.

Again, in 1756, in answer to the Board of Trade's

¹ Documents relating to Col. Hist., iv., 420.

² i., 608. Brodhead (Hist. of N. Y., ii., 458) puts the population in 1686 at about 18,000.

³ 20,665, as given in Hough's N. Y. Census for 1855, iv.; 20,748, in Documents relating to Col. Hist., v., 339.

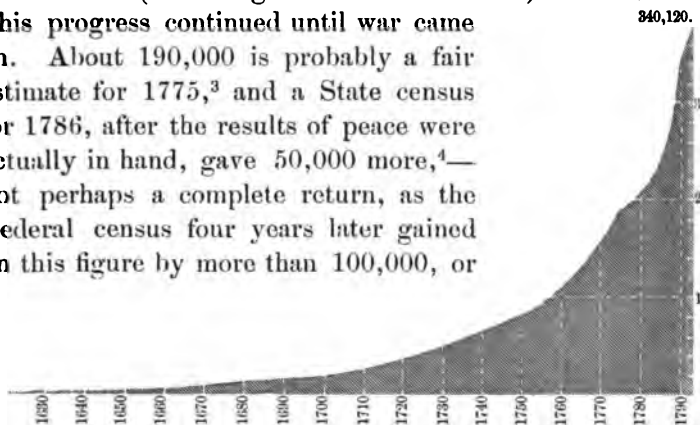
⁴ Cf. I Chron., xxi.

⁵ Documents relating to Col. Hist., v., 339; Hough's Census for 1855, v. Chalmers, in Hist. of the Revolt (ii., 7), cites a government estimate for 1715 of 31,000, a probable figure; Roberts (N. Y., i., 232) quotes the same as for 1720, not so appropriately.

⁶ 40,564 in 1723 (Documents relating to Col. Hist., v., 702); 50,289 in 1731 (*do.*, iv., 694; the figures in *do.*, v., 929, are incorrect); 60,437 in 1737 (*do.*, vi., 133); 61,589 in 1746, without Albany County, "not possible to be numbered on account of the Enemy" (*do.*, vi., 392).

⁷ 73,448. See Documents relating to Col. Hist., vi., 509, 550.

Queries, in the interest of war-levies, the population was found to number 96,790.¹ Then, after a longer interval, during which the rate of increase rose sensibly, especially by reason of the conquest of Canada and the extinction of border warfare, came Governor Tryon's census in 1771, with a total (excluding the Vermont towns) of 163,338.² This progress continued until war came on. About 190,000 is probably a fair estimate for 1775,³ and a State census for 1786, after the results of peace were actually in hand, gave 50,000 more,⁴—not perhaps a complete return, as the Federal census four years later gained on this figure by more than 100,000, or



42 per cent.⁵ In this unparalleled prosperity the largest factor was the development of the new and hitherto scarcely settled Western section.

For New Jersey our data are meagre, but sufficient to characterize its growth as slow and feeble. The first important colonization was that begun in 1665 by the English, who at the time of the Dutch seizure of New York in 1673 numbered probably 3,000,⁶ and by the expiration of twenty-five years was near 10,000.⁷ Meantime, West

¹ 83,242 whites, and 13,548 blacks (Hough's Census of 1855, vi.). Bancroft (ii., 389, 391) says in 1754 about 85,000 whites and not far from 11,000 negroes.

² Documentary Hist. of N. Y., i., 697, or Hough's Census of 1855, vii.

³ Prof. A. Johnston (School Hist., 93) estimates 180,000; the estimate of Congress was about 250,000.

⁴ 238,897 (Hough's Census of 1855, viii.).

⁵ 340,120.

⁶ 469 adult males (Whitehead's E. Jersey under the Proprietors, 2d ed., 76). 3,500 in 1676, according to Dr. Daniel Coxe (N. J. Archives, ii., 14). About 5,250 in 1682 (Smith's Hist., 161. Cf. Winsor's Hist. of Amer., iii., 436).

⁷ Whitehead, in Winsor's Hist., iii., 446; Bancroft, i., 608.

Jersey, settled in 1674, was much less sturdy, its first quarter of a century bringing it perhaps to 4,000.¹

The great crisis in the history of these sections, distracted hitherto by complicated and conflicting claims, arrived in 1702, when the Crown assumed the government of perhaps a little over 15,000 inhabitants.² By this change the conditions of life were made more secure and more inviting, yet growth was sluggish. A census was unpopular, for the same reasons as in New York, and not until 1726 was any regular enumeration effected, the result at that date being 32,442.³ The quarrelsomeness and general turbulence of the community, and the lack of appropriations for payment to the collectors, limited the number of further censuses under Provincial authority to two, in 1737 and 1745, which amounted, speaking roughly, to 50,000 and 60,000, from seven to eight per cent. being negroes.⁴

After this we have such guesses as the Royal Governors could make, for the satisfaction of their superiors. In 1754 and again in 1755, Governor Belcher reported about 80,000 whites and from 1,500 to 1,800 blacks,⁵ the latter item an evident understatement; and Governor Franklin in 1774 conjectured 120,000,⁶ implying a stunted growth, to be accounted for in part by the drain of emigration to the South and West, since the Peace of Paris.

A more rapid advance set in after the Revolution, so that the General Assembly was justified in assuming in 1784

¹ 832 freeholders in 1699 (N. J. Archives, ii., 305).

² Gen. McClellan, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., xvii., 398; from Humphreys's *Hist. Account of the S. P. G.* (1701), 42. Chalmers, in *Hist. of the Revolt*, i., 376, gives a wild guess of about 8,000 in 1702.

³ N. J. Archives, v., 164.

⁴ 47,369 in 1737 (N. J. Archives, vi., 244). 61,383, including 4,606 slaves, in 1745 (*do.*, 242, 243).

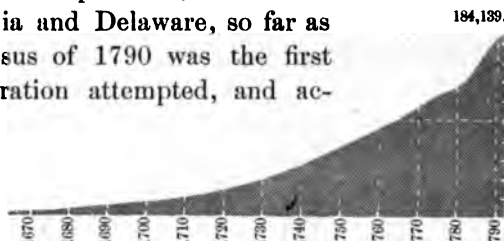
⁵ N. J. Archives, viii., pt. 2, 84, 186. A British official estimate of 1749 was 60,000 whites (Pitkin's *Statist. View*, 2d ed., 12); Bancroft computes (ii., 389, 391) for 1754 about 73,000 whites and 5,500 blacks; Douglass (Summary, ii., 286) says in 1755 about 50,000; Burnaby's *Travels* (2d ed., 58) say 70,000 in 1760.

⁶ N. J. Archives, x., 446. He supposes an increase of over 20,000 since 1764. The estimate of Congress in 1774 was 130,000 (John Adams's *Works*, vii., 302).

a population of about 150,000,¹ which the first United States census carried up to 184,139.

In Pennsylvania and Delaware, so far as appears, the census of 1790 was the first thorough enumeration attempted, and accordingly we are much in the dark for all the colonial period ;

a special embarrassment arises, moreover, in discussing such data as we have, from the uncertainty whether in any given case, Delaware, a quasi-independent adjunct of the Province, is included.



In 1681, before the arrival of Penn's settlers, the territory contained about 500 whites,² mainly Swedes on the banks of the Delaware ; but by 1685 the number had risen to 7,200.³ The popular impression is correct, that colonization here was throughout more rapid than in any other of the original governments ; and Mr. Bancroft, in his review of America at the Revolution of 1689, sees reason to conclude that Pennsylvania and Delaware numbered already perhaps 12,000.⁴

The contemporary estimates, however, are of little help. Col. Heathcote, of the New York government, informed the Propagation Society in 1700, that there were in Pennsylvania at least 20,000 souls.⁵ Chalmers cites⁶ a Government estimate for 1715 of 45,800 ; but the value of such evidence is diminished by the frank admission of the Board of Trade's careful Report, six years later,⁷ that the accounts

¹ 138,934 whites, and 10,501 blacks.

² F. D. Stone, in Winsor's *Hist. of America*, iii., 480.

³ *do.*, 491.

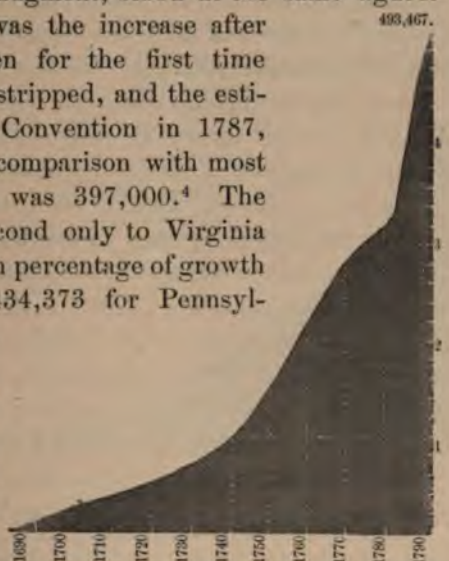
⁴ *id.*, 608.

⁵ Humphreys's *Hist. Account of S. P. G.*, 42. Bryant and Gay's *Popular History* (iii., 170) says over 20,000. Grahame's *History* (2d ed., i., 551) estimates 35,000.

⁶ *Hist. of the Revolt*, ii., 7.

⁷ Documents relating to Col. *Hist. of N. Y.*, v., 604.

This enormous growth kept up with scarcely any relaxation until the war, Governor Penn reporting in January, 1775, over 300,000¹ for Pennsylvania alone, while during the war the estimate of Congress, which was located favorably for an accurate judgment, stood at the same figure.² Even more startling was the increase after the war ceased,³ when for the first time Massachusetts was outstripped, and the estimate of the Federal Convention in 1787, remarkably correct in comparison with most of its other guesses, was 397,000.⁴ The result in 1790 was second only to Virginia (both absolutely, and in percentage of growth since 1775), being 434,373 for Pennsylvania proper, and 59,094 for Delaware. It should be noted in passing that, from about the middle of the century, when Boston was left behind, Philadelphia was by far the most populous place in the Colonies.



Maryland presents throughout a uniform and gradual development, resembling strikingly that of Connecticut. She began with Leonard Calvert's cargo of 300 colonists in 1634, and enjoyed such accessions that in 1660 she was reported in England as "peopled with 8,000 souls,"⁵ while

¹ 300,000 whites and 2,000 blacks (Pa. Archives, iv., 597). Scharf's Hist. of Maryland says (ii., 200) 341,000 in 1775, excluding slaves.

² Pa. Archives, viii., 473 (for 1780); the estimate for Delaware was 37,000. The taxables for 1779 were 45,683 (Brissot's New Travels, 326). Bryant and Gay's Popular Hist. of U. S. says (iv., 91.) 350,000 in 1782 in Pennsylvania.

³ 66,925 taxables in 1786 (Brissot, 326).

⁴ 360,000 in Pennsylvania, and 37,000 in Delaware (Curtis's Hist. of the Constitution, ii., 168).

⁵ Thomas Fuller's notice of Sir George Calvert, in his Worthies (written 1660, 1661), iii., 418.

submitted to them differ wildly, ranging from 65,000 to half that figure.

Governor Gordon in 1730¹ gave his estimate of the population as 49,000, and this is supported apparently by the number of taxables,² though I suspect that these did not represent the same per cent. of the whole as in the northern colonies. Reasoning likewise from the list of taxable persons in 1750,³ we get for that date a probable total of 150,000, and in 1760, 220,000.⁴ This rapid increase had placed Pennsylvania before the middle of the century next in numbers to Virginia and Massachusetts, but now ensued a slight moderation of her headlong advance. Dr. Franklin, in his famous examination before the House of Commons in 1766,⁵ supposed that there might be about 160,000 whites in Pennsylvania alone; but he did not profess to speak with accuracy, and was under a bias which led him, perhaps unconsciously, into cautious understatement. More credible is the historian Proud's inference in 1770⁶ from the number of taxables, that there were 250,000 people in Pennsylvania, and from 20,000 to 30,000 in Delaware.

¹ British Museum, Add. MS. 30,372.

² Proud's Hist. of Pa. (ii., 275) says not over 10,000 in 1731 in Pennsylvania alone; but I should estimate the population of Pennsylvania and Delaware at about 69,000. For 1740, Provost C. J. Stillé (*Pa. Magazine of Hist.*, x., 284) says about 100,000.

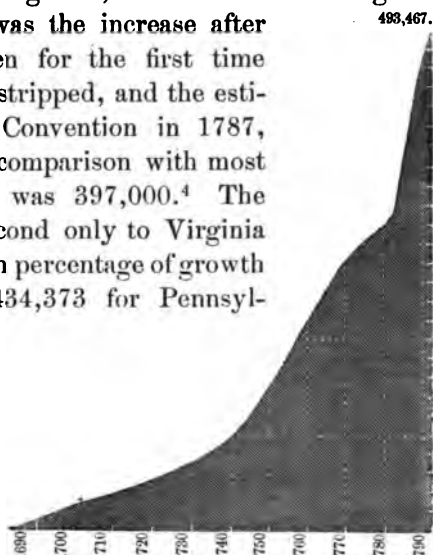
³ About 21,000 in Pennsylvania alone in 1751 (Proud's Hist., ii., 275); not over 22,000 in 1752 (*Hist. Review of Government of Pa.*, 196). Pres. Ezra Stiles (*Ms. Itinerary*, 1763) quotes Dr. Franklin as telling him that he supposed 160,000 in Pennsylvania in 1752; but Franklin's Preface to Galloway's Speech, in 1764 (*Works*, ed. Bigelow, iii., 334) computes 20,000 houses in the Province in 1752, each on an average containing five persons. The British Government in 1749 estimated 250,000 whites in Pennsylvania and Delaware (*Pitkin's Statist. View*, 2d ed., 12).

⁴ 31,667 taxables in Pennsylvania alone (*Col. Records*, xiv., 336). Compare the estimate, by one of the Governor's Council, of 200,000 in 1757 (*do.*, vii., 448). Bancroft's figures (ii., 389, 391) for 1754, 206,000, seem too large; as also those of Gov. Morris in 1755, over 300,000 (*Col. Rec.*, vi., 336), and of Burnaby's *Travels* (2d ed., 80) in 1759, 4-500,000.

⁵ *Works*, ed. Bigelow, iii., 412; in same vol. (334) he supposes not over 110,000 in 1764.

⁶ *Hist. of Pa.*, ii., 275, 276. Cf. *Col. Records*, xiv., 336.

This enormous growth kept up with scarcely any relaxation until the war, Governor Penn reporting in January, 1775, over 300,000¹ for Pennsylvania alone, while during the war the estimate of Congress, which was located favorably for an accurate judgment, stood at the same figure.² Even more startling was the increase after the war ceased,³ when for the first time Massachusetts was outstripped, and the estimate of the Federal Convention in 1787, remarkably correct in comparison with most of its other guesses, was 397,000.⁴ The result in 1790 was second only to Virginia (both absolutely, and in percentage of growth since 1775), being 434,373 for Pennsylvania proper, and 59,094 for Delaware. It should be noted in passing that, from about the middle of the century, when Boston was left behind, Philadelphia was by far the most populous place in the Colonies.



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in 1665¹ rumor had doubled even this allotment. In 1667 we have a Maryland clergyman's letter, written however with a purpose which would be helped by a generous estimate, which claims at least 20,000 souls² for the province.

These figures are all conjectural; but a series of more authority begins in 1701, with the Governor's report of 32,000 in round numbers for that year.³ Computations conformable with this for other years follow,⁴ with the first detailed census in 1712, showing just over 46,000,⁵ of whom the negroes were less than one-fifth.

According to the Board of Trade's Report in 1721, already quoted in several cases, the population of Maryland, two years before, was 55,000 whites and 25,000 blacks;⁶ but some error lies in these figures, which has caused other exaggerations. Especially to be questioned is the implication that the blacks were nearly one-third of the whole. The truth may have been that the whites numbered 50,000, and the blacks 10,000 or 12,000.

For the next thirty years we have no full evidence,⁷ but the result is shown in Governor Ogle's report for 1748⁸ of

¹ Oldmixon's *Brit. Empire in America*, i., 191. Bancroft (i., 176) adopts Fuller's estimate as more probable. It is not likely that there were 11,000 in 1665. Ogilby's *America* (185) in 1671 estimates 15,000 to 20,000 whites.

² Rev. J. Yeo, in Anderson's *Hist. of the Colonial Church*, 2d ed., ii., 395. Hildreth's *Hist.* (i., 567) says perhaps 16,000 in 1676.

³ 32,258, according to British Museum, Add. MS. 30,372. McMahon (*Hist. of Md.*, i., 273) and Bancroft (i., 608) estimate 25,000 in 1689; J. Esten Cooke (*Va.*, 308) says 35,000 in 1700; Humphreys (*Hist. Account of S. P. G.*, 1701) says over 25,000.

⁴ For 1704, 35,012, and for 1710, 42,741 (*Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, v., 605). Oldmixon's *Brit. Empire in America*, 1708 (i., 204), says 30,000, and Scharf's *Hist. of Md.* (i., 370) says over 40,000 for same year. Bancroft (ii., 23) follows Oldmixon.

⁵ 46,073, of whom 8,330 were negroes (Scharf's *Hist.*, i., 377). A Government estimate in 1715 gives 50,200 (Chalmers's *Hist. of the Revolt*, ii., 7).

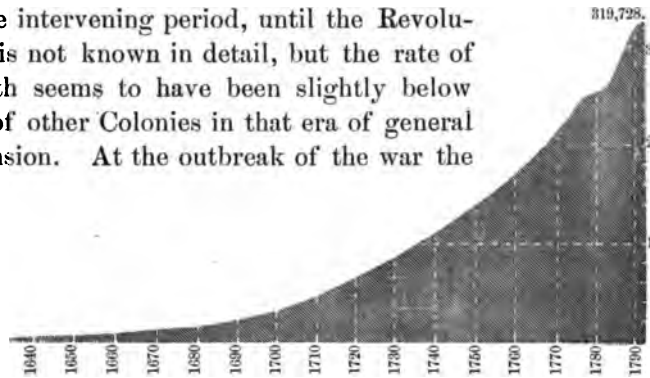
⁶ *Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, v., 605.

⁷ There is a Government estimate of 96,000 in 1732. The taxables (*i. e.*, all males over sixteen, and all female negroes) were 31,470 in 1733 (McMahon's *Hist.*, i., 313).

⁸ Scharf's *Hist.*, i., 437, or McMahon, i., 313: about 94,000 whites and 36,000 blacks. An English official estimate in 1749 was 85,000 whites (Pitkin's *Statist. View*, 2d ed., 12). Winsor's *Hist. of America* (v., 151) gives 100,000 as the total for 1749.

130,000 inhabitants. A census in 1755, for the information of the Board of Trade, yielded about 154,000,—the negroes and mulattoes being about thirty per cent. of the whole;¹ and another return of the Governor and Council in 1761 reported 164,000,² of whom some 50,000 were blacks. As the understood object of these returns was for use in laying military requisitions, it is likely that evasions were frequent.

The intervening period, until the Revolution, is not known in detail, but the rate of growth seems to have been slightly below that of other Colonies in that era of general expansion. At the outbreak of the war the



numbers were probably near 250,000,³ and at its close four thousand more.⁴ From this time to the census of 1790, with its total of 320,000,⁵ the increase was a moderate one, though owing to limitations of territory the resulting density of population was unequalled outside of New England; and this helps to account for the decided stand of Maryland

¹ 107,208 whites, 42,764 negroes, 3,592 mulattoes (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxiv., 261). Another account (McMahon, i., 313, and Scharf, ii., 14) gives 107,963 whites and 46,225 blacks. Bancroft says (ii., 389, 391) 104,000 whites and 44,000 blacks in 1754.

² 114,332 whites, 49,675 blacks (McMahon, i., 313). Rev. Ethan Allen (*Am. Quarterly Church Review*, xviii., 39) supposes over 200,000 in 1758. Burnaby conjectured in 1759 (*Travels*, 2d ed., 67) about 90,000 whites and 32,000 slaves.

³ Lodge (*Short Hist. of Engl. Colonies*) adopts this figure. J. F. D. Smyth was told (*Tour in U. S.*, ii., 187) that the numbers were 275,000. W. T. Brantley estimates them (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., xv., 603) at 200,000 in 1775. A Congressional estimate in 1774 was 320,000 (*J. Adams's Works*, vii., 302).

⁴ *Encycl. Britannica*, 9th ed., xv., 603.

⁵ 319,728, of which 103,036 were slaves. The Federal Convention in 1787 estimated 250,000, of which 80,000 were slaves.

in refusing to adopt the Articles of Confederation until the rights of the general government to the undeveloped West were secured.

Virginia, the leader of the Colonies in time, and soon in numbers also, began as feebly as any. After ten years of existence (in 1616) her roll of inhabitants was only 351,¹ but immigration had swelled this list to 2,400² before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth. In the midst of this prosperity came the Indian massacre of 1622, which decimated the colony at once,³ and caused such alarm and flight as reduced it a few months later at least one-half.⁴ These misfortunes expedited a change of administration, so that Virginia became a Royal Colony in 1624, and the first account of stock taken, early in 1628, showed nearly 3,000 persons.⁵ It took seven years for these to increase to 5,000,⁶ and five years more to bring them up to 7,500.⁷ Then came a speedier growth, so that the last figure was doubled in eight years,⁸ and this doubled again in eleven more, or by 1659.⁹ Meantime, one consequence of the Revolution in England had been an increased immigration

¹ C. Campbell's *Hist. of Va.*, 117, and R. A. Brock, in Winsor's *Hist. of Amer.*, iii., 141. Cf. Jefferson's *Notes* (Works, viii., 329).

² *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574-1660, 22.

³ 350-375 victims, out of a population estimated from 2,200 to over 4,000. Purchas's *Pilgrims* (iv., 1792) says 1,800 survived. Bancroft (i., 128) says the immigrants had exceeded 4,000.

⁴ Bancroft (i., 128) says only 2,500 remained one year after the massacre. A list in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574-1660, 57 (cf. 43), seems to show only 1,275 in the winter of 1623-4, and 370 killed in the massacre.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, 89. Gov. Harvey (*do.*, 117) estimated the inhabitants in May, 1630, at over 2,500.

⁶ 5,119 in Census, early in 1635 (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, 201).

⁷ 7,647 in 1640 is the estimate of the editors of the *Aspinwall Papers*, in *Mass. Hist. Society's Collections*, 4th series, ix., 79. Holmes's *Annals* (i., 315) supposes about 20,000 in 1642.

⁸ A *Perfect Description of Va.*, 1649 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d ser., ix., 105, or Force's *Tracts*, ii.), says about 15,000 English and 300 negroes. Bancroft's statement (i., 143), 20,000 at Christmas, 1648, seems too large.

⁹ 30,000 (wrongly printed 80,000) in 1659 (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1661-68, 350). The same, for 1660, in Chalmers's *Polit. Annals*, 125, and Bancroft, i., 152.

to the loyal Dominion of Virginia, which thus gained the leadership in numbers, before held by Massachusetts, but not again to be transferred, until New York claimed it in 1820.

In the next eleven years, the epoch of the Restoration, with its reflux tide of immigration, the rise was only from 30,000 to 40,000,¹ and at the crisis of the Revolution of 1689 this mother of colonies fell still a little short of 60,000.² Fourteen years were needed to raise the figure to 70,000,³ and another fourteen to make 100,000.⁴

Between this date and the Old French War it is clear that the rate of growth was much accelerated, though we have few details. In 1755 Governor Dinwiddie,⁵ on confessedly imperfect data, believed the total to be 230,000; but within a year he gives us the number of tithables,⁶ from which might be inferred a total of almost 300,000,—the blacks being not far from 40 per cent. of the whole, their usual proportion through the century.

The growth between the French War and the Revolution was so marvelous as to appear incredible. In 1772 the tithables⁷ imply a population of 475,000,—more than one-fifth of the sum total in the country. Probably Governor Pownall's estimate in 1774,⁸ 300,000 whites, was not

¹ Gov. Berkeley in 1671 says above 40,000 (Chalmers's *Polit. Annals*, 327).

² Bancroft (i., 608) estimates, 50,000 or more. The militia in 1690 were 6,570 (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 607).

³ Oldmixon's *Brit. Empire in Amer.*, i., 289. 58,000 in 1699 is the estimate of an official Report, in *Brit. Museum*, Add. MS. 30,372. Humphreys's *Hist. Account of S. P. G.* computes in 1700-01 above 40,000 [whites?]. The militia in 1703 were 10,556 (Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., v., 607).

⁴ Chalmers's *Hist. of the Revolt* (ii., 7) gives an estimate of 95,000 for 1715. The taxables (*i. e.*, all males over 16, and all black females over 16) in 1715 were 31,658 (Gov. Spotswood's *Letters*, ii., 140). The militia in 1716 were 15,000 (*do.*, 211).

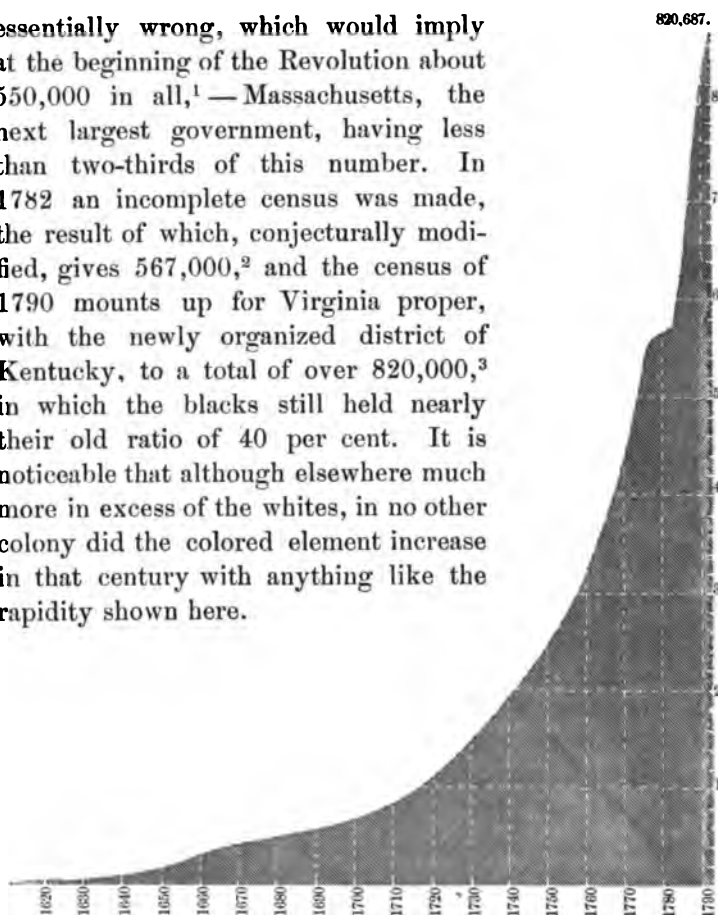
⁵ Dinwiddie Papers, i., 387. Bancroft (ii., 390, 391) put the whites in 1754 at 168,000, and the blacks at not less than 116,000.

⁶ 43,329 whites, and 60,078 blacks (Dinwiddie Papers, ii., 353, 474, 532). Neill's *English Colonization in America*, 67, reports the population in 1757 as 44,214 whites, and 58,292 blacks; but these are the tithables.

⁷ 153,000 (Jefferson's *Notes*, in *Works*, viii., 329).

⁸ John Adams's *Works*, viii., 329.

essentially wrong, which would imply at the beginning of the Revolution about 550,000 in all,¹ — Massachusetts, the next largest government, having less than two-thirds of this number. In 1782 an incomplete census was made, the result of which, conjecturally modified, gives 567,000,² and the census of 1790 mounts up for Virginia proper, with the newly organized district of Kentucky, to a total of over 820,000,³ in which the blacks still held nearly their old ratio of 40 per cent. It is noticeable that although elsewhere much more in excess of the whites, in no other colony did the colored element increase in that century with anything like the rapidity shown here.



In North Carolina, most backward in many respects of the original colonies, there was no enumeration of the inhabitants before 1790. We grope our way, therefore, in much uncertainty.

When a charter was secured by Clarendon and his associates in 1663, it is supposed that there may have been 300

¹The extravagant estimate of Congress in 1774 was 640,000 (*J. Adams's Works*, vii., 302); *J. F. D. Smyth*, in his *Tour in U. S.* (i., 72), suggests about 500,000 as more correct, but supposes that of these near two-thirds were blacks.

²*Jefferson's Notes*, in *Works*, viii., 332, 333.

³Virginia, 747,610, and Kentucky, 73,077.

families¹ in the Albemarle region, later known as North Carolina. Secretary Miller on his arrival in 1677 reported the tithables in this district as 1,400,² from which Dr. Hawks infers³ from 2,500 to 3,000 people; adding to these the colonists at Cape Fear,⁴ Mr. Bancroft⁵ estimates the whole as hardly 4,000. Rebellion, anarchy, and the removal of the Cape Fear settlers, reduced the tithables by 1694 to 787,⁶ implying a total of under 2,000.

The next highest point must have been on the eve of the Indian outbreak in 1711,⁷ and after the setback which this caused, we get a glimpse of the new rate of progress in the fact of not over 2,000 tithables, or at the utmost a population of 10,000 in 1717.⁸ From this date, and especially from the transfer of government to the Crown, the numbers multiplied much more rapidly. A comparison of Governor Burrington's assertion that in 1732⁹ the whites were full 30,000 and the negroes about 6,000, with the militia roll,¹⁰ more than justifies Mr. Bancroft's conjecture¹¹ of 90,000 in 1754. Ten years later we have about 135,000 as the estimate of Governor Dobbs,¹² certainly not an excessive one; but details of the later strides towards repletion are wanting. In 1774 the estimate of Congress was 300,000;¹³ but this, like all the estimates of that session, was

¹ Rivers, in Winsor's *Hist. of Amer.*, v., 305.

² Chalmers's *Polit. Annals*, 533.

³ *Hist. of N. C.*, ii., 469.

⁴ 800 in 1668 (Hawks, ii., 453).

⁵ *Id.*, 425.

⁶ Rivers, in Winsor's *Hist.*, v., 305.

⁷ Hawks thinks (*Hist.*, ii., 89) there were then less than 7,000; judging from the official estimate, in 1715, of 7,500 whites and 3,750 blacks. Humphreys's *Hist. Account of S. P. G.* says over 5,000 whites in 1701.

⁸ Williamson's *Hist. of N. C.*, i., 207, or Hawks, ii., 89. Col. Saunders estimates 9,000, in *Col. Records*, ii., xvii.

⁹ Saunders, *Col. Records*, ii., xvii. Martin's estimate (*Hist. of N. C.*, i., 302, 303) of not over 10,000 in 1729, adopted by Hawks (ii., 103), is absurdly low.

¹⁰ 15,400 in 1753 (Rivers, in Winsor's *Hist.*, v., 304).

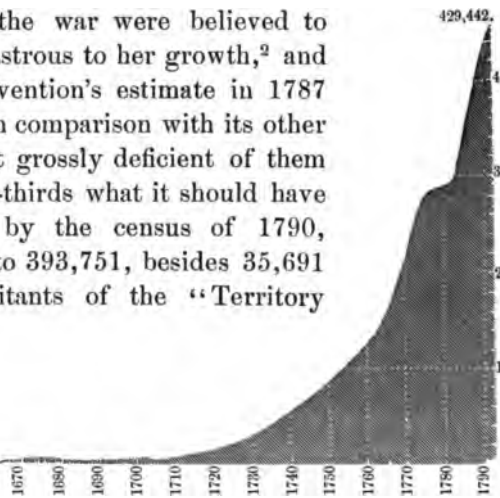
¹¹ 70,000 whites and 20,000 blacks (ii., 390, 391). The British government estimated in 1749 45,000 whites (Pitkin's *Statist. View*, 2d ed., 12).

¹² Rivers, in Winsor's *Hist.*, v., 305.

¹³ John Adams's *Works*, vii., 302.

regarded subsequently as too liberal, and probably 260,000¹ was nearer the truth. At any rate, there was surprising progress during the decade preceding the Revolution, in which time none of the larger colonies increased as rapidly as this; but numbers do not necessarily carry weight, and though at the Revolution fourth in population among all the sisterhood, North Carolina was by no means fourth in importance.

The years of the war were believed to be eminently disastrous to her growth,² and the Federal Convention's estimate in 1787 was 224,000,³—in comparison with its other guesses, the most grossly deficient of them all, less than two-thirds what it should have been, as shown by the census of 1790, which amounted to 393,751, besides 35,691 classed as inhabitants of the "Territory south-west of the Ohio, hitherto in North Carolina, and afterwards the State of Tennessee.



The permanent development of South Carolina dates from 1670, and at the first important epoch, the founding of Charleston in 1680, the district contained from 1,000 to 1,200 souls,⁴ while the impulse contributed by the new capital more than doubled⁵ the number in the next two years. Some basis for a judgment is furnished by a Report of the notorious Edward Randolph, as agent for the Board of Trade, who professed to find in 1699 near 1,500

¹ Tucker's Hist. of U. S., i., 96, and Johnston's School Hist., 93. Wanting little of 300,000 in 1776, says W. C. Kerr, in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., xvii., 562.

² Cf. J. F. D. Smyth's Tour in U. S., i., 235.

³ Curtis's Hist. of the Constitution, ii., 168.

⁴ T. Ash, in Carroll's Hist. Collections, ii., 82.

⁵ Ibid.

whites of military age, and four times as many negroes.¹ This is strikingly inconsistent with a report by the Governor and Council in 1708, placing the whites at about 4,000, and the blacks at 5,500.² Probably, as the interests of the two parties were directly opposed, the agent's representations need to be scaled down, and those of the Colony officials to be magnified.

It is clear that already the negroes with the Indians were outnumbering the whites, and henceforth the negroes multiply with startling celerity.

The war which broke out in 1715 scattered the Indian tribes and checked slightly the process of growth in the Province, which then numbered over 16,000;³ but by 1720 the Governor could report 20,000.⁴

With the revolt from proprietary rule in 1719 began a distinctly more prosperous era, as is clear from Governor Glenn's rather generous estimate of 32,000⁵ population, five years later. This occurs in a Description of the Province, written in 1749, which supplies also our next data, namely, whites nearly 25,000, and negroes at least 39,000,⁶—considerably below the total in North Carolina for the same year.

¹ Rivers's Sketch of Hist. of S. C., 443. Hewatt's Hist. Account (Carroll's Hist. Collections, i., 132) says 5-6,000 whites, about 1,700. Humphreys's Hist. Account of S. P. G. (25), in 1701, says above 7,000 whites.

² 9,580 in all (Rivers's Sketch, 232). Oldmixon's Brit. Empire in America, 1708, quoted in Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 460, says 12,000.

³ In 1714, 10,000 slaves (Rivers's Sketch, 251) and about 6,300 whites (*do.*, Supplement, 92). A British estimate for 1715 was 6,250 whites and 10,500 blacks (Chalmers's Hist. of the Revolt, ii., 7).

⁴ In Rivers's Sketch, Supplement, 19, 20, 92, 101, are two sets of returns for the whites in 1720,—one 6,400, and one about 9,000; the slaves are 11,828.

⁵ Whites, about 14,000 (Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 261). Bryant and Gay's Popular Hist. (iii., 107) estimates 6-7,000 whites and about 22,000 slaves in 1730. Purry's Description, in 1731 (Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 129), says over 40,000 negroes. Von Reck's Journal, 1734 (Force's Tracts, iv., 9), computes 30,000 negroes and four negroes to one white. These slave estimates all seem too high.

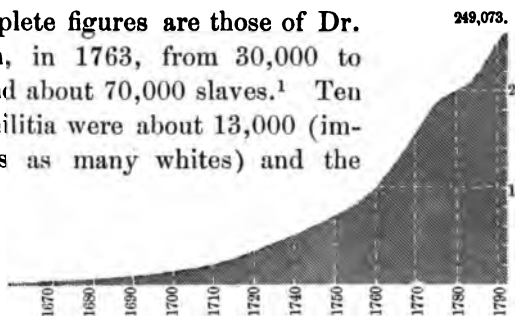
⁶ Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 218; the whites are estimated from the militia (about 5,000), and the negroes are those reported for taxation, probably not a full return. The British Government estimated, the same year, 30,000 whites (Pitkin's Statist. View, 2d ed., 12). In 1741, the Impartial Enquiry concerning Georgia (Ga. Hist. Soc. Collections, i., 167) says not over 5,000 whites and at

The next complete figures are those of Dr. George Milligan, in 1763, from 30,000 to 40,000 whites and about 70,000 slaves.¹ Ten years later the militia were about 13,000 (implying five times as many whites) and the negroes about 110,000,² which makes the highest point reached

before the Revolution, still under 200,000. One result of the war was that, whereas for generations previous the blacks had outnumbered the whites so largely, the wholesale exodus of negroes under the auspices of the British reversed this proportion of the races in the census of 1790, which gave 140,178 whites and 108,895 blacks. North Carolina and Virginia had suffered in the same manner, though scarcely to the same degree.

Georgia, last in geographical order, had also the briefest history, and the most sparsely settled territory. Twenty years under the Trustees who projected it, failed to bring the permanent population up to 5,000;³ but with the lapse to the Crown in 1752 began a healthier growth. The new administration fostered slavery, and Governor Wright found in 1760 less than 6,000 whites and perhaps half as many blacks;⁴ in 1766 he reported near 10,000 whites and 8,000 blacks;⁵ and in 1773 over 18,000 whites and 15,000 blacks.⁶

At this rate of increase the total in 1776 was probably



least 40,000 blacks. Bancroft (ii., 390, 391) says in 1754 40,000 whites and full as many negroes.

¹ Description of S. C., in Carroll's Hist. Coll., ii., 478, 479. There was 5,500 militia (whites) in 1756 (Gov. Lyttleton, in Winsor's Hist. of Amer., v., 335), and 6,200 in 1758 (Gov. Lyttleton, in Pres. Ezra Stiles' MSS.). Hewatt estimates in 1765 near 40,000 whites and 80-90,000 negroes (Carroll's Hist. Coll., i., 503).

² Wells's S. C. Register for 1774, quoted in Winsor's Hist., v., 335.

³ Whites about 2,700 and blacks about 1,700, in 1752 (Jones's Hist. of Ga., i., 460).

⁴ *do.*, ii., 73.

⁵ *do.*, i., 460.

⁶ *do.*, ii., 522.

from 45,000 to 50,000,¹ or double the number of seven years before. In the times of invasion Georgia like her neighbors suffered a diminution of her negroes,² and the war reduced her grand total below the figures of 1776; but she rallied by 1790 to the much higher sum of 82,548, of which the whites made near two-thirds. In one respect, however, she was singularly misrepresented, being overestimated in the Federal Convention of 1787 at nearly half as much again as her real amount of population, while the rest of the colonies were underestimated considerably,—the total of the Convention's figures falling short of the reality by more than half a million.

A summary of these results gives us a reasonably approximate view of the growth of population in the whole country for the period before 1790.

In the first third of a century, or by 1640, when Parliament gained the ascendancy in England, British America contained a little over 25,000 whites,—60 per cent. of them in New England, and the most of the remainder in Virginia. At the Restoration of monarchy in 1660, the total was about 80,000, the greatest gain being in the most loyal divisions, Virginia and Maryland, which now comprehended one-half the whole. At the next epoch, the Protestant Revolution of 1689, Mr. Bancroft concludes³ that our numbers were not much beyond 200,000, and the figures I have presented give about 206,000; in this increase one large factor was due to the Middle Colonies, which now for the first time assumed importance, numbering already nearly half as many as New England.

A round half-million appears to have been reached about 1721, with the Middle Colonies showing again the largest percentage of growth, and New England the least. A million followed in twenty-two years more, or 1743, this

¹ Bancroft estimates (iv., 181) in 1775 about 17,000 whites and 15,000 blacks.

² Jones's Hist. (ii., 522) queries whether in 1782 she had over 35,000 inhabitants.

³ i., 608.

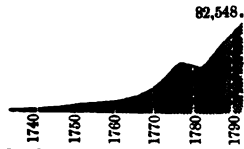
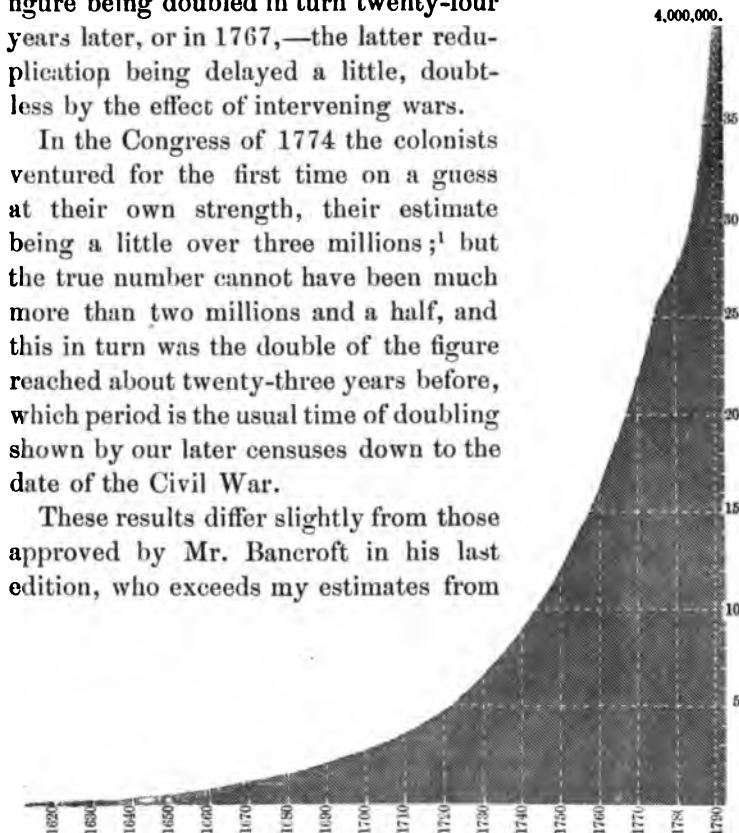


figure being doubled in turn twenty-four years later, or in 1767,—the latter reduplication being delayed a little, doubtless by the effect of intervening wars.

In the Congress of 1774 the colonists ventured for the first time on a guess at their own strength, their estimate being a little over three millions;¹ but the true number cannot have been much more than two millions and a half, and this in turn was the double of the figure reached about twenty-three years before, which period is the usual time of doubling shown by our later censuses down to the date of the Civil War.

These results differ slightly from those approved by Mr. Bancroft in his last edition, who exceeds my estimates from



1750 to 1770² by amounts varying from 50,000 to 100,000, or from 4 to 5 per cent. of the totals.

With the limited time at my disposal, I refrain from entering on the many interesting deductions to which these statistics open the way.

¹ John Adams's Works, vii., 302.

² Bancroft (ii., 390) quotes Chalmers's estimates of 434,600 in 1714, 580,000 in 1727, 1,485,634 in 1754; I should assume at these dates, 400,000, 600,000, and 1,360,000, respectively. For himself he gives 1,260,000 in 1750, 1,425,000 in 1754, 1,695,000 in 1760, 2,312,000 in 1770, and 2,945,000 in 1780; for this last date, E. B. Elliott, in Walker's Statistical Atlas of U. S. (1874), computes the total as in round numbers 3,070,000. My own figures are, for 1750, 1,207,000; for 1760, 1,610,000; for 1770, 2,205,000; for 1775, 2,580,000; and for 1780, 2,780,000. The published figures of the census of 1790 (3,929,214) do not include Vermont or the Territory northwest of the Ohio, which would bring the total above 4,000,000.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1887.

Under the direction of the Finance Committee the Treasurer has carried to each fund, from the income of the investments, two and one-half per cent. on the amount of each fund as it stood April 1, 1887.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1887, was \$103,906.17, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,	\$39,963.66
The Collection and Research Fund,	18,001.43
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,551.24
The Publishing Fund,	20,131.95
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,	1,567.43
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,	2,532.26
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,	1,103.43
The Salisbury Building Fund,	5,068.78
The Alden Fund,	1,114.65
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,	1,192.85
The George Chandler Fund,	508.60
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,	492.93
	\$103,906.17

The income of the Tenney Fund for the past six months and the gift from Rev. R. C. Waterston of one hundred dollars, have been transferred to the Librarian's and General Fund.

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$2,626.32.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending Oct. 1, 1887, is as follows :

DR.

1887. April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report.....	\$ 481.33
" Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date.....	2,795.30
" "	Received for life assessments.....	100.00
" "	Received for annual assessments.....	150.00
" "	Received from sale of publications.....	61.75
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets.....	233.44
" "	Gift from R. C. Waterston.....	100.00
" "	W. & N. R. R. Bonds paid.....	5,000.00
" "	Mortgage Note paid.....	2,250.00
		<hr/>
		\$11,171.82

CR.

By salaries to Oct. 1, 1887.....	\$1,559.98
By expense of repairs.....	21.65
For publishing "Proceedings".....	332.66
Bonds purchased.....	6,000.00
Premium on bonds.....	54.16
Books purchased.....	240.72
Incidental expenses, including Coal.....	336.33
	<hr/>
	\$8,545.50
Balance in cash Oct. 1, 1887.....	2,626.32
	<hr/>
	\$11,171.82

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of fund, April 1, 1887.....	\$39,956.69
Income to Oct. 1, 1887.....	1,001.43
Life assessments.....	100.00
Transferred from Tenney Fund.....	125.00
From R. C. Waterston.....	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$41,283.12
Paid for salaries.....	\$859.99
Paid for Coal.....	356.25
Incidental expenses.....	103.22
	<hr/>
	\$1,319.46
1887, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund,.....	<hr/>
	\$39,963.66

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887.....	\$17,885.07
For Books sold.....	231.19
Income to Oct. 1, 1887.....	447.13
	<hr/>
	\$18,563.39
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals...	561.96
	<hr/>
1887, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund	\$18,001.43

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$6,551.85
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	166.05
	<hr/>
	\$6,717.90
Paid to Assistant-Librarian,.....	166.66
	<hr/>
1887, Oct. 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$6,551.24

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$19,905.22
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	497.64
Publications sold,.....	61.75
	<hr/>
	\$20,464.61
Paid for printing Proceedings,.....	332.66
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$20,131.95

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,532.33
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	38.25
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	\$1,570.58
Paid for books,.....	3.15
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,567.43

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$2,470.50
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	61.76
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$2,532.26

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,139.79
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	28.49
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	\$1,168.28
Paid for books,.....	64.85
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Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,103.43

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$4,966.27
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	124.16
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	\$5,090.43
Paid for repairs,.....	21.65
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$5,068.78

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,087.46
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	27.19
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,114.65

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$5,000.00
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	125.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,125.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	125.00
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$1,165.95
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	29.15
	<hr/>
	\$1,195.10
Paid for books,.....	2.25
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,192.85

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1887,.....	\$514.42
Income to Oct. 1, 1887,.....	12.88
	<hr/>
	\$527.30
Paid for books,	18.70
	<hr/>
Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$508.60

Total of the twelve funds,	\$102,736.28
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....	676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	492.93
	<hr/>
Oct. 1, 1887, total,	\$103,906.17

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 855.00
22	City National Bank Worcester,.....	2,200.00	2,970.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	478.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank, ..	600.00	900.00
2	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	530.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,956.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,	600.00	636.00
5	North National Bank Boston,.....	500.00	675.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,808.00
46	Shawmu National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	5,830.00
33	Webster National Bank Boston,	3,300.00	3,432.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	4,247.00
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total of Bank Stock,.....	\$23,000.00	\$28,657.00

1887.]

Report of the Treasurer.

55

20 Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,200.00
5 Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	850.00
BONDS.		
Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,735.00
Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,900.00
Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,280.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	4,945.00
Chicago, Santa Fé & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	3,120.00
City of Chicago Bond,.....	1,000.00	1,030.00
Quincy Water Co. Bonds,	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	42,150.00	42,150.00
Note secured by R. R. Bond,.....	1,000.00	1,000.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,329.85	3,329.85
Cash,	2,626.32	2,626.32
	<u>\$103,906.17</u>	<u>\$113,823.17</u>

WORCESTER, Mass., October 15, 1887.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE.

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to Oct. 1, 1887, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

WILLIAM A. SMITH.

WORCESTER, Oct. 18, 1887.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE recent Centennial Celebration of the formation of the Constitution of the United States reminds us that on the 24th instant it will be three-quarters of a century since the incorporation of our Society. This in turn suggests the inquiry what our founders proposed to do; what excuse they offered for putting a new society into the field. The most exact answer to this we shall find in the petition of Isaiah Thomas, Nathaniel Paine, William Paine, Levi Lincoln, Aaron Bancroft and Edward Bangs to the Legislature of Massachusetts, the opening portion of which is as follows: "*To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled.* The subscribers, influenced by a desire to contribute to the advancement of the arts and sciences, and to aid by their individual and united efforts in collecting and preserving such materials as may be useful in marking their progress not only in the United States but in other parts of the Globe: and wishing also to assist the researches of the future historians of our country, respectfully represent to the Legislature, that in their opinion the establishment of an antiquarian society within this Commonwealth would conduce essentially to the attainment of these objects." The act of incorporation bears the following endorsement: "In the House of Representatives, Oct. 23, 1812, passed to be enacted, Timothy Bigelow, Speaker. In the Senate, passed to be enacted, Oct. 24, 1812, Samuel Dana, President. Approved, Caleb Strong. Alden Bradford, Secretary of the Commonwealth." While "The notification and warning to the members incorporated" to attend the first meeting was headed, "American Society of

Antiquaries," doubtless having then in mind the Society of Antiquaries of London, there immediately follows: "Whereas, by an act of the Legislature of Massachusetts passed Oct. 24, 1812, Isaiah Thomas and others were formed into and constituted a society and Body Politick and corporate by the name of the American Antiquarian Society" etc. What has been done or what left undone during these seventy-five years we need not stop to consider. But we, their successors, shall do well if with our greater opportunities we equal the founders in their wisdom and zeal.

A curious side-light is thrown upon the society's early and limited library work as well as upon its old-time care and hospitality by the following vote of the sub-council—a body composed of those officers living in Worcester, who appear to have held their first meeting February 15, 1815—at a meeting held July 17, 1823; namely: "That the library of the society be opened to none but literary characters, that the key be kept at the house of the President, and that he be authorized to call on the members of the council and the secretaries in town, to wait on gentlemen who may wish to visit the library, whenever he may think it proper." Dr. Thomas's gifts both of books and money for the founding of this library prove that he believed with Addison, that "Books are the legacies that genius leaves to mankind, to be delivered down from generation to generation, as presents to the posterity of those who are yet unborn." For these gifts we shall ever remain under deep obligation. We also recall his "History of the Art of Printing," which has enabled us to fill this storehouse with so much historical information, and his invaluable services as patriot printer during the War of the Revolution. But even his boyhood should not be forgotten. In our copy of "The New Book of Knowledge," a duodecimo of one hundred and seventy-two pages and twenty-nine illustrations, printed and sold by Z. Fowle, at his printing-office in Back Street,

near the Mill Bridge, Boston, in 1764, Mr. Thomas has written as follows: "Printed and cuts engraved wholly by I. Thomas, then 13 years of age, for Z. Fowle, when I. T. was his apprentice. Bad as the cuts are executed, there was not at that time an artist in Boston who could have done them much better. Some time before and soon after there were better engravers in Boston." Neither would we forget his fearless loyalty to the patriot cause, not only during the War of the Revolution, but in the trying times of his young manhood, which preceded it. When in Halifax, a few years since, I looked in vain for evidence of the rebellious acts of the lad of seventeen, while printing and virtually editing the Halifax Gazette, for Anthony Henry, the Government printer. Within these walls, however, there is an abundance of it. On the blank leaf attached to our file of the Gazette, Mr. Thomas has written, "Printed on stamped paper during the time of the Stamp Act. The Halifax Gazette, from October 2d, 1765, to April 1st, 1766, was printed by Isaiah Thomas, for Anthony Henry." The issues of December 5 and 19, have the heavy black lines suggestive of mourning, while the latter has in addition, a square jet black stamp, about the size of the Government stamp, representing the skull and crossed-bones, surmounted by the word "America." There are two copies of the number for December 26, one bearing the red stamp of the Government, the other only the death's-head printed the same size and color. One of the last and most dramatic acts of the Boston boy printer, was in connection with the Gazette of February 13, 1766. After stating incidentally that "Advertisements are taken in and inserted as cheap as the Stamp Act will allow," he proceeds to show his indignation by printing the issue upon stamped paper, carefully placed bottom side up, so that the crown as well as the other insignia and the motto are reversed. Not satisfied with this he prints directly over the stamp, "Scorn and contempt of America pitching down to destruction,"

etc. ; and, just below it, "D[evi]ls clear the way for B[ernard]s and STAMPS." Then he illustrates, in order that his meaning may be perfectly clear, by conveniently placing a square black stamp representing his Satanic Majesty surrounded by flames, with his familiar fork thrust into the government stamp, that emblem of authority which reminded our printer of "taxation without representation." Six weeks later, after seven months of Nova Scotia life, he took ship for Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but not until he had been called to account by the authorities for boldly stating in the official organ that the people of the province were disgusted with the Stamp Act.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Thomas was literally the first in many things touching his craft. He was the first to extend his influence by the opening of printing offices in various sections of New England, having in each case a resident partner. For instance, at Boston the concern was Thomas and Andrews, at Brookfield Thomas and Waldo, at Newburyport Thomas and Mycall, at Walpole, N. H., Thomas and Carlisle, while at Worcester his great work was done under his own name. He printed as the first thing ever printed in Worcester, the *Massachusetts Spy* of May 3, 1775, and in 1776, upon the same press and for the first time in Massachusetts, the Declaration of Independence. In 1786 he here issued from his press the first music ever printed typographically, and in 1791 the first pulpit Bible printed in America. The extent of his publishing is indicated by his Worcester editions of the State laws of Massachusetts, and other works of three, five or ten volumes each. While it may also be true that he catered somewhat to the popular taste of the day, it is clear that a list of his Worcester imprints alone would astonish us, both by their number and importance.

It may be well also to call to grateful remembrance at this time an important step in our history as a Society, taken half a century ago, and which is recorded as follows :

“At a meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, held at the office of the Manufacturers Mutual Fire Insurance Company in Worcester, Sept. 23, 1837, at 9 o'clock A. M., Doct. John Park in the chair * * * chose Samuel F. Haven Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.” Is it too much to say that the day which secured to this Society forty-three years of such faithful and distinguished service as Dr. Haven rendered, should stand second only to the day of its incorporation?

It has been a pleasant incident of recent library life to have aided Miss Hewins, somewhat, in the gathering of material for her history of children's books. Our founder was one of the first, if not the first, to issue little books for children, reprints of English and other publications, which he carefully adapted to American home life, and, what is now more to our purpose, thoughtfully preserved for our shelves. To these we have added some early juveniles from the Brinley Sale, making our present collection a very attractive as well as historically useful one.

The Card Cataloguing of our books and bound pamphlets is nearly completed, and the equally, and perhaps more important work upon our great mass of unbound pamphlet literature, can—thanks to Mr. Salisbury—soon be entered upon. We are often reminded of the truth of the following paragraph in Mr. Winsor's Harvard College Library Report of 1878: “There are no considerations except economy for treating pamphlets other than as books; and the users of a library are never thoroughly equipped for investigation so long as any distinction is made between them.”

Attention is called to the forth-coming circular letter to members lately ordered by the Council. It will include the usual call for biographical memoranda, lists of individual works, photographs, etc., and it is to be hoped will meet with an unusually full and prompt response. Even in cases where we already have earlier photographic presentations we shall expect to be favored with the later.

Since the last report there have been presented to the Society five hundred and seventeen books, seventy-seven hundred and sixty-three pamphlets, ninety-one volumes of newspapers, fourteen photographs, eight maps, three manuscripts, one engraving, and various articles for the Cabinet. We have received by exchange three hundred and nineteen books, six hundred and seventeen pamphlets, and four volumes of newspapers, and from the binders forty-two volumes, making a total library increase for six months to the 15th instant of eight hundred and seventy-eight books, eighty-three hundred and eighty pamphlets, ninety-five volumes of newspapers, seventeen photographs and the other articles above stated. For these gifts we are indebted to two hundred and eight sources, namely, to thirty-eight members, ninety-six persons not members, and seventy-five societies and institutions. Attention need hardly be called to the valuable and unique gift of Messrs. Salisbury and Thompson which so fittingly adorns the Salisbury Annex, for it is a leading feature of this occasion. Mr. Thompson has shown the same industrious and painstaking enthusiasm in completing his great work—aided to be sure here by our skilled mechanics—as was shown by him in the beginning in the wilds of Yucatan. The fortunate presence of the young consul and explorer will prevent further allusion to him at this time.

The amateur photographers of the Society who have thus far reported progress in their labors in historical and archæological lines, are Messrs. Paine of Worcester, Thompson of Merida, and Harden of Savannah; and specimens of their good work are laid upon the table for your careful inspection. Your librarian's desire that this important department should at once take its place as a working force was expressed in a previous report. There are others of our members who are skilled in this specialty, whom we hope to enlist in our cause. Mr. Alfred S. Roe, principal of the Worcester High School,

has been thoughtful of our needs in this direction. His latest gift is his excellent photograph of Redempton Rock in Princeton, Mass.—the property of our President—which bears the following inscription: “Upon this rock May 2, 1676, was made the agreement for the ransom of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson of Lancaster, between the Indians and John Hoar of Concord. King Philip was present, but refused his consent.” By persistent and long-continued effort Mr. Roe has nearly completed our set of the Methodist Quarterly Review. Thanks are due to Dr. Samuel A. Green for an important addition to our school book literature; and to Hon. William W. Rice for a very large gift of government publications. Dr. Justin Winsor has sent his recent publications, and Hon. Isaac Smucker, and Dr. William F. Poole western periodicals, containing contributions from them. Dr. John Beddoe presents with his acceptance of membership in the Society his well-known “Races of Great Britain,” and William A. Smith, Esq., a rarity for the alcove of Slavery and Rebellion. Hon. J. Carson Brevoort has added eight more volumes to his Japanese collection, five volumes to the Davis Spanish-American alcove, and others to the general library. Hon. Edward L. Davis has furnished a mass of pamphlet and periodical publications relating to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and American Railroads, and our Secretary, Hon. John D. Washburn, has done the same kind office for the department of Insurance. The value of such examples of continued interest in specialties is apparent.


We have received the annual address of our associate Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr. before the Confederate Survivors Association in Augusta, Georgia, and a word of commendation may here be dropped in view of the biographical, historical and statistical material which he weaves into these addresses. They are in this respect unlike the ordinary Memorial Day or Fourth of July orations. Mrs. Samuel F. Haven has placed another instalment of books in the Haven

alcove, and has added the Unitarian Review, in continuation, to our Periodical Alcoves. Mr. Clarence W. Bowen has given the results of some of his historical studies, while Dr. Eben N. Horsford has placed us under obligations by the gift of Zeisberger's Indian Dictionary, of which he is the editor. Gen. William S. Lincoln continues his habit of laying aside for us "The Orient" and other Bowdoin college literature, making us desire such a representative for every college in the land. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., has kindly placed in our alcove of Genealogy his two brochures on the Winthrop family in Ireland and in America. Capt. Eugene H. Newton has wisely added to our war files of confederate newspapers the Montgomery (Ala.) Weekly Advertiser of January 8, 1862 to September 21, 1864, brought by him from the South during the late war of the Rebellion. Being well aware of the value of such testimony he is unwilling longer to risk it in a private house. Mr. William H. Whitmore, chairman of the Record Commission of Boston, forwards a copy of their photo-electrotyped reproduction of the laws of Massachusetts of the Edition of 1672, with all the additions obtainable. It has been compared with our own which is a perfect copy but with fewer of the supplementary pages than in the Athenæum copy from which this is made, and will be of peculiar value in our fine collection of Massachusetts Laws, Journals and Resolves. Mr. J. W. A. Wright of Livingston, Alabama, for whom we have had photographed "the Alabama Stone" which has been so long in our possession, has given us copies for service rendered. He is to use the illustrations in his work upon some of the early explorers of the South. The receipt from the Connecticut State Library of two regimental histories along with the annual contribution of state documents, indicates "State Aid" in a direction which is highly commendable. Every State may well order extra copies of such works, when they are reliable, and thus secure their publication. They would be useful to any State library in the way of exchange.

Our thanks are due to the society's printer, Mr. Charles Hamilton, and to its binders, the sons of the late Mr. Joseph S. Wesby, for the large gifts of their pamphlet accumulations, of many years. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin sends a copy of its catalogue of 1617 titles of books, pamphlets and manuscripts relating to rebellion and slavery. It would be interesting to compare such a list with one of what has been secured by Cornell, Princeton, the Massachusetts Historical Society, or by our own society. It is a most attractive field, and the State of Wisconsin has been far-sighted in providing so liberally for its cultivation.

The foregoing acknowledgments will suggest that it is not thought wise wholly to give up the custom of calling attention to some of the gifts of peculiar interest or value. The question has been asked, why separate the list of donors and donations, which is hereto appended, into three classes instead of using one alphabetical arrangement for the whole. The latter plan would certainly be more simple, but it may be that it would not so readily call attention to the contributions of our members and thus incidentally to the wants of the society.

Our exchanges, which we endeavor to conduct in a broad and liberal spirit, have seldom brought us better returns than during the past six months. For instance, from Columbia College we have received in addition to seventy volumes relating to biography, slavery and rebellion, forty-three volumes of the publications of the Hakluyt Society; from the Detroit Public Library seventy-seven volumes chiefly biographical, and from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin one hundred and sixty-nine carefully selected titles. We have lately made special efforts to serve in this direction the American Baptist Historical Society, the American Catholic Historical Association, the Kansas Historical Society and the Registrar of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. We have also tried to aid one of our honored members in collecting the imprints of his own



town with a view to their preservation in the future town library. It may be added that a small trial invoice of duplicate bound newspapers has been sent to the auction room, and that such a fair return has been received therefor that a second invoice has been forwarded.

With the approval of the Library Committee, the very imperfect files of our duplicate English and American illustrated newspapers have been sent to the Worcester City Hospital. Our binders have considerably reduced the accumulations of unbound magazines and newspapers, greatly to our present relief. While we may never be able to have a bindery of our own, the convenience of a repair shop for books and pamphlets under our own roof, where there would be the minimum risk from fire, is often suggested by the presence of broken backs, loose leaves, and torn plates. In the case of books of special value, such as the unbound Massachusetts folio journals and resolves, a library bindery would relieve your librarian of not a little anxiety.

The roof upon the main hall has been re-tinned, after thirty-three years of service, and the skylight thoroughly repaired, thus securing us from damage by water. Perhaps the next most important service to be rendered by the Salisbury Building Fund is the placing of shelves in the lower hall for special lines of books, as well as for our large collection of duplicates now in part piled upon the floor. These shelves can be of an inexpensive character, and should stand back to back, opposite the centres of the wall shelving, between the windows on the north and south sides, giving the effect of alcoves.

The Society of Antiquaries of London, whose favors to this Society have been long continued, has recently, in answer to a request made to our foreign corresponding societies, notified us of the gaps in its set of our publications. It is our desire to receive such information, and to act upon it promptly so far as it is in our power. It would seem wise to print editions sufficiently large to en-



able us to make a fair return by exchange to all bodies with which we are in correspondence. Until our Publishing Fund is large enough to provide for the reprinting of the second volume of our transactions—perhaps the most valuable in the series—we shall be very glad to secure copies of it by purchase, gift, or exchange, either from members, friends, or dealers. We are often asked if there is an index to the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, and it may help our treasury to be able to respond to such inquiries. We have a Partial Index to the Proceedings, first series, 1812–1881, by Mr. Salisbury, with a Bibliography of the Society by Mr. Paine, which may be had, post paid, in boards or sheets, for one dollar. The New Series of Proceedings is printed in numbers, continuously paged, so that when a volume is ready the title page and index are added, and the book is complete. For seventy-five cents and the numbers, an exchange can be made for a bound volume, uncut, top gilt, and with gilt lettering upon the back. The title-page and index to volume four, new series, will be sent out with the proceedings of this meeting.

The pupils of Worcester Academy have recently made a pilgrimage to our library, under the guidance of their instructor in history. We trust that not only this visit will be repeated, but that we may become more and more closely associated with all the institutions of learning about us, both of the higher order, like the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and the College of the Holy Cross, of the present, and the Clark University of the near future; and of the academies and schools, which are, or are to be their feeders.

The fourth meeting of the American Historical Association, whose chief officers are members of this society, was held at Boston and Cambridge, May 21–24, 1887, and was a pronounced success. It was thought best that your librarian should, in the interest of historical pursuits, attend its sessions, and extend to his fellow-members the privileges

and hospitality of Antiquarian Hall, which have so often been offered in the Society's publications, and by its members.

We shall not fulfil our mission of encouraging the preservation and use of American history until by the establishment of a fund for the especial purpose, or otherwise, we are able to subscribe for important archæological and historical works upon their inception, and thus help to insure their careful preparation and publication. We have not yet known those "piping times of peace" referred to by Dibdin when the Society's "Surplusage of wealth finds a vent in the channel of book purchasing," and therefore cannot always do as we wish. However, as ours is a national society, shall we not try to make its library what Henry Stevens twenty-five years ago called "An index of a nation's wealth, taste and character?"

It being important that we should make the best possible use of our limited book purchasing funds special attention has been given to the careful examination of foreign and domestic catalogues. It has sometimes happened that distance from the place of publication has lessened the price asked for an uncommon book which an active market nearer home had caused to become rare. The finding in these catalogues from time to time at reasonable rates, of rare books of which we are sadly in need, coupled with the knowledge that we have practically no general fund with which to buy them, recalls the forceful words of Colonel Washburn in his Council report of April, 1883. He said, you will remember, "That the importance of making one at least of our departments as nearly complete as the lot of humanity will admit cannot be overestimated," adding that "What we need is a gift of money devoted to no specified purpose * * * saving only the general condition that it shall be devoted to the purchase of books."

We would extend our hearty congratulations to those kindred societies, which have been made happy by the

increase of library funds or by the prospect of better accommodations, as well as to the nation and its cities and towns for the bright library outlook. Whether undertaken by the national or municipal governments or by individuals in their places of birth or adoption, it matters little so the good work goes forward. The roll of honor is a long one, but need not here be given. It is so evident that the spirit of library helpfulness is abroad that we await our turn with confidence. Your librarian desires from time to time to state special as well as general wants and then to leave them hopefully in your hands.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Ten pamphlets; a cabinet photograph of himself; and “St. John’s Echo” and “St. Andrew’s Cross” in continuation.
- BEDDOE, JOHN, F.R.S., Bristol, Eng.—His “Races of Great Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe.”
- BREVOORT, Hon. J. CARSON, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Eleven books; seven pamphlets; and one map.
- BRINTON, Prof. DANIEL G., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Review of the Data for the Study of Prehistoric Chronology of America.”
- BROCK, Mr. ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—“Pocahontas and her Descendants,” with notes by Mr. Brock.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—Two pamphlets.
- DAVIS, Mr. ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His “Colony of Nox”; and his “Historical Study of Law’s System.”
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Eight books; and three hundred and one pamphlets.
- DEVENS, Hon. CHARLES, *President*, Worcester.—His address at the annual meeting of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, June 17, 1887.
- DEWEY, Hon. FRANCIS H., Worcester.—One book; and one hundred and forty-one pamphlets.
- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His “Sketch of the History of Yale University;” and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- ELLIS, Rev. GEORGE E., LL.D., Boston.—His address delivered before the New York Historical Society on its 82d anniversary.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His paper on “The Art Movement in America”; and one pamphlet.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His Groton Historical Series, vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2; two hundred and thirty-four books; eighty-four pamphlets; and the *American Journal of Numismatics*, as issued.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—The Life of George M. Troup.
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., Amherst.—One pamphlet.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Two books; thirty-three pamphlets; one manuscript; and the *Official Record of the Rebellion*, as issued.
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His “Religious Use of Wealth: A sermon commemorative of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe.”
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., LL.D., Augusta, Ga.—His address before the Confederate Survivors’ Association at its Ninth Annual Reunion.

KINGSBURY, Mr. FREDERICK J., Waterbury, Conn.—His "Old Connecticut."

MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Thirty-three pamphlets.

MOORE, GEORGE H., LL.D., New York.—His "Prytaneum Bostoniense," second edition, with additions; and his "Washington as an Angler, with extracts from his diaries, 1787-89."

NELSON, Hon. THOMAS L., Worcester.—Eleven pamphlets.

PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Ten pamphlets.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Four books; three hundred and eighty-two pamphlets; ten files of newspapers; a cabinet photograph of himself; and ten photographs taken by himself.

PEABODY, Rev. ANDREW P., D.D., Cambridge.—His "Manasseh Cutler."

PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Mendon, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—Journal of the 34th Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Iowa; and "The Iowa Churchman," as issued.

POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—"The Dial," volumes 1-5; and as issued.

PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERICK W., Cambridge.—His paper on the "Serpent Mound"; his "Conventionallism in Ancient American Art"; and the Twentieth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology.

RICE, Hon. WILLIAM W., Worcester.—Two hundred and thirty books; four hundred pamphlets; and a file of the "Worcester Home Journal," 1833-34.

SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—Four books; two hundred and eighteen pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.

SMITH, WILLIAM A., Esq., Worcester.—Brantz Mayer's "Captain Canot: or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver."

SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—Sixteen of his historical papers; and seventeen Ohio pamphlets.

WASHBURN, Hon. JOHN D., Worcester.—Four files of insurance periodicals; and two pamphlets.

WHEATLAND, HENRY, M.D., Salem.—The "Peabody Press," in continuation; and five pamphlets.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—Four of his own recent publications; and the "Harvard Bulletin," as issued.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His "Ode written for the Jubilee Celebration of Queen Victoria."

FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

ALLEN, Mr. CHARLES A., Worcester.—His report as City Engineer, in relation to the Disposal of the Sewage of Worcester.

ALLIS, Mr. GARDNER S., Worcester.—Brooks's Gazetteer.

BAILEY, Mr. GEORGE W., Worcester.—His examination of a work entitled "Earth not a Globe," etc.

BAILEY, Mr. ISAAC H., New York.—His "Shoe and Leather Reporter," as issued.

- BALDWIN, Messrs. JOHN D., AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.
- BARTON, Miss CLARA, Washington, D. C.—Her official Report of the Red Cross at Camp George Washington, May, 1887.
- BATTELL, Mr. ROBBINS, and Mrs. ANNA, Norfolk, Conn.—The Diary of Thomas Robbins, D.D., vol. II.
- BENT, Mr. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His Eulogy on Samuel Miller Quincy.
- BLANCHARD, Messrs. FRANK S., AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Souvenir of "ye Old South Meetin House," Worcester, Mass.
- BOARDMAN, Hon. SAMUEL L., Augusta, Me.—His "Home Farm," as issued.
- BOWEN, CLARENCE W., Ph.D., New York.—Three of his historical and biographical publications.
- BROOKS, Rev. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*, Hanover.—Journal of the 97th Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Massachusetts.
- BULLARD, Miss LOUISA D., Cambridge.—One book; and thirty-five pamphlets.
- BURBANK, Mr. CHARLES H., Lowell.—Lowell Year Book, No. 5, 1886-87.
- BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Coventryville, N. Y.—One pamphlet.
- CHALMERS, Mr. PATRICK, Wimbledon, England.—"The Philatelic Society of London and the Adhesive Postage Stamp."
- COLLET, Mr. C. D., London, G. B.—"Diplomatic Fly Sheets," Numbers 231-234.
- COOLIDGE, Rev. AMOS H., Leicester.—His "Rev. John Nelson, D.D."; and his "Religious History of the First Congregational Church in Leicester."
- COLTON, Miss MARY R., Worcester.—"The Churchman," 1886-1887.
- COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His "Gazette," as issued.
- CRUNDEN, Mr. FREDERICK M., St. Louis, Mo.—His Report for 1885-86, as Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library.
- CUTLER, EPHRAIM, M.D., New York.—Three of his treatises on Diet.
- DANA, CALEB, FAMILY OF THE LATE.—"The Columbian Centinel" for 1790; five hundred and two numbers of magazines; and forty-nine pamphlets.
- DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—A cabinet photograph of himself.
- DEAN, Mr. J. WARD, Boston.—His Biographical Sketch of John Bostwick Moreau.
- DEWEY, Mr. MELVIL, *Chief Librarian*, New York.—His Fourth Annual Report on the Library of Columbia College.
- DODGE, JAMES H., Esq., *Auditor*, Boston.—His Annual Report for 1886-87.
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KING PHILIP'S WAR; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE ATTACK ON BROOKFIELD IN
AUGUST, 1675.

BY GRINDALL REYNOLDS.

THIS paper does not propose to give an account of King Philip's War, as a whole. To do that with any thoroughness would require a volume. It would rather confine itself to a statement of the reasons why the war happened to take place, and to a somewhat full sketch of a single event of that war.

The subject has for me what I may call a traditional attraction. My ancestor, Captain Nathaniel Reynolds, was one of the original settlers, who after the war took possession of Mount Hope, the home of the Wampanoags, and named it Bristol. My great-grandfather, Benjamin Reynolds, was the first boy christened in the new town; while my grandfather, John Reynolds, and my father, Grindall Reynolds, first saw the light and were reared to manhood amid the associations of the ancient hamlet.

No historian, as it seems to me, has pointed out with sufficient clearness the causes which made this war, not only probable, but inevitable. A little sketch of the First Church, Bristol, R. I., appeared in 1872. In that sketch you find this statement. It refers to the grant of the township in 1681.¹ "The whole of Plymouth County was then settled, except this territory, which was the only spot left uncovered in the western march of English population." This is literally true. When the *Mayflower* dropped anchor off Plymouth the Wampanoags held the whole region as

¹ Historical Sketch of the First Church, Bristol, R. I., by J. P. Lane, p. 8.

their hunting ground. Of this great tract all they retained in 1675 was a little strip, called then Mount Hope, scarcely six miles long and two miles wide. The southern line of English possession had been drawn right across Bristol Neck, enclosing, and almost imprisoning, the tribe in a little peninsula, washed on all sides, except the north, by the waters of Narragansett and Mt. Hope bays. As if to emphasize this fact, their neighbors, the people of Swanzy, "set up a very substantial fence quite across the great neck."¹ That some freedom to fish and hunt in the old territory was granted is probable. But in the nature of the case each year narrowed its scope. Governor Winslow says "Before these troubles broke out the English did not possess a single foot of land in the Colony, but was fairly obtained from the Indians."² No doubt this may have been true. No less true was it that the owners of the soil hardly comprehended the meaning of transactions by which they sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. Even what remained was coveted. To protect them in it, in 1668 it was necessary to order,³ "that noe person shall . . . on any pretence whatsoever buy or receive any of those lands that appertaine unto Mount Hope." Yet one year later the same court granted⁴ one John Gorham a hundred acres within the bounds of Bristol, provided it could be purchased of the Indians.

Another change had come just as hard to bear. To the men who landed at Plymouth Rock the Wampanoags seemed to be, and no doubt were, a dirty, half-naked and half-starved lot of barbarians.⁵ But these barbarians were independent, and exercised a controlling influence over the tribes of central Massachusetts. "Massasoit," says Drake, "was for an Indian a great King." As an equal he made a

¹ Hubbard's Indian Wars.

² Plymouth Records, x., 363.

³ Plymouth Laws, 221.

⁴ See Hist. of 1st Church, Bristol.

⁵ See Palfrey, i., 183.

treaty with the whites; and was assured that¹ "King James would esteem him his friend and ally." Fifty years pass. The son of Massasoit, according to the Puritan annalist had divested himself of all independence.² He had meekly acknowledged himself and his people to be subjects of the King of England and New Plymouth and under their laws. Nor was this subjection a dead letter. The chiefs were summoned to appear and answer accusations often ill-founded. Restrictive laws were applied to trade and even to personal habits. Sachems were arrested, tried and executed for acts committed by order of their chief. Of King Philip the Plymouth Commissioners write that he was in arms,³ "from a guilty feare that we should send for him and bring him to tryall with the other murderers." All this may have been the necessary result of the contact of the strong with the weak. It may indeed, as Palfrey argues, have benefited the Indian himself. But it subjected him to restraints which to a savage were well nigh intolerable.

Add, now, that the colonists, having obtained the land and tethered the owners, had no faith in him; that they were haunted with the feeling that he was "plotting mischief"; that repeatedly Philip and his brother were summoned as suspected criminals and forced to submit to humiliating conditions; that the brother actually died of a fever, occasioned in part by the hardship endured on one of these arrests, and in part also by the rage and shame engendered by this very humiliation. This is the way matters stood in 1675 according to the conquerors' own statement. Read Philip's pathetic story recorded in Arnold's history and you will know how it looked to the conquered. Said he to John Borden of Rhode Island:—⁴

"The English who came to this country were but a handful of people, forlorn, poor and distressed. My father

¹ Drake's Indian Wars.

² See Hubbard's Indian Wars.

³ Plymouth Records, x., 364.

⁴ Arnold's Rhode Island, i., 394.

was then Sachem. He relieved their distresses. He gave them land to build and plant upon. He did all in his power to serve them. Their numbers rapidly increased. My father's counsellors became uneasy and alarmed. They advised him to destroy them before they should become too strong. But my father was also the father of the English. His advice prevailed. It was concluded to give victuals to the English. Experience has taught that the fears of my father's counsellors were right. By various means they got possessed of a great part of his territory. My elder brother became Sachem. They pretended to suspect him of evil designs. He was seized and confined, and thrown into sickness and died. After I became Sachem they disarmed all my people. They tried them by their own laws, assessed damages which they could not pay, and their land was taken. Thus tract after tract is gone. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. *I am determined not to live till I have no country.*"

So it is evident that life-and-death grapple, called King Philip's War, had to come. I am with those who doubt the accepted theory about it. Our fathers excited by natural and, for the most part, well-founded fears exaggerated both the capacity and plans of Philip. They believed that he had formed a gigantic Indian Confederacy. This theory rests on slender foundations. The King Philip of the annals is certainly a creature of the imagination. The real Philip had not head enough to plan such a confederacy, nor courage enough to carry it into effect. His commanding influence, if he ever had any, began with the attack on Swanzey and closed with his flight to the Nipmucks. From that moment as a great figure he disappears. Indeed, if we suppose the affair at Swanzey to be the culmination of years of plotting, what further proof of Philip's weakness is needed? There was no preparation whatever for defence. A few hundred hasty levies in forty-eight hours swept his tribe out of existence. There is very slight evidence that he was in command at any of the later undertakings. He certainly fled for a time to the Mohawks. Had not a certain Nemesis brought him back to die on his own hearth-

stone, and so lent pathos to life's close, he might almost have been forgotten. Philip foresaw,¹ as we have already seen, that soon he must be landless, and a slave instead of a king, if he did not fight. Of that we have absolute evidence. We may readily admit that he did what he could, with his own tribe, and with the Nipmucks, who were allied or united to his tribe by peculiarly close ties, to prepare for the emergency. But confederacy is a large term to apply to such despairing struggles. In fact there was no simultaneousness in the outbreak. It began in June with the raid on Swanzey. The Nipmucks rose in July. The tribes along the Connecticut River in August. Those of New Hampshire and Maine in September and October. The Narragansetts never rose at all; but were attacked and destroyed in mid-winter, because they did not deliver up fugitives; and because their loyalty was suspected;—and, as it would seem from the testimony of the Indian spy² employed by the English, unjustly.

The simplest explanation is probably the truest. Already the Indian chief had been repeatedly summoned to appear to answer to the charge of plotting against the colonists. Once he obtained deliverance by promising to deliver up the arms of his tribe; again by signing articles acknowledging himself a subject of the King of England; and the third time, as Increase Mather states it, by giving "a sum of money to defray the charges which his insolent clamors had put the Colony into," or as Philip puts it "he was seized and confined till he sold another tract of country." All this was sufficiently exasperating. But the cup of his indignation was full, when Sausamon, a Natick Indian, who had in times past taken refuge at Mounf Hope, and been a subject and friend of Philip, in 1675 went to Plymouth with charges against his benefactor, and those charges were accepted as true. The death of Sausamon,—slain as

¹ See Arnold's *Rhode Island*, 395.

² See James Quanopokit's Relations in *Mass. Archives*.

it was believed by Philip's order,—naturally followed. The arrest of three Wampanoag Sachems for this supposed murder, their condemnation and execution under English law precipitated hostilities. The young warriors, already dissatisfied with Philip's timidity, sprang to arms. The rest was like the spread of a prairie fire, where all the herbage is ready for conflagration. Tribe after tribe, by a sort of warlike contagion rose. The habits of the race made bloodshed natural, while jealousy and fear, and often sense of injury, made it certain.

The *first* act of the war closed with Philip's flight from Mount Hope. At this seat of what, we are asked to believe, was a long conceived, subtle and powerful confederacy, almost literally no resistance was made. In forty-eight hours after the appearance of the hastily gathered English soldiery, the chief was a fugitive, and his tribe, as such, swept out of existence.

The *second* act could open only in just one place. Where could Philip flee? North were the solid settlements of Plymouth and Massachusetts, whose first levies had crushed his tribe at a blow. West was Narragansett Bay, and beyond the Rhode Island and Connecticut towns. But northwest, in central Massachusetts, was a tract more than fifty miles square where the Indian had sway. It was the Nipmuck country. It included nearly all of Worcester County and a large part of Hampshire County. In the centre of this region was Brookfield with possibly one hundred and fifty people; at Worcester seven deserted houses. Now the Nipmucks were Philip's natural allies. Between them and the Wampanoags there had been a close bond, either of friendship or subjection. It has been conjectured, and latterly asserted,¹ that Massasoit closed his life at Brookfield as chief of the Quabaugs. It was therefore inevitable that the defeated chief should take refuge among them, and that his coming should kindle afresh the flame.

¹ See Hist. No. Brookfield, 46, 47.

The assault of Brookfield was no accident. Brookfield was the half-way station between the established life on the seaboard, and the hopeful beginnings of life up and down the Connecticut River. In round terms it was thirty miles from the outposts of eastern Massachusetts, and as many miles from the first hamlets of western Massachusetts. Its maintenance, if the Connecticut River towns were to be saved, was of vital importance. So vital did it appear, that, though under stress of great difficulty it was twice abandoned, the authorities at once ordered its re-occupation; and to the close of the war it remained a place of refuge and arms. We may well believe that the Indians understood, quite as clearly as the whites, the importance of the post and its weakness. Their purpose to attack it must have been co-incident with their resolution to go to war.

Apparently the colonists were equally aware of the importance of the post and its danger. For in the latter part of June the Governor and Council of Massachusetts sent messengers to the western Indians to keep them, if possible, from uniting with Philip. Satisfactory assurances were received from the sachems. These assurances were very likely made in good faith. But with the actual breaking out of hostility the younger warriors' lust for battle swept away every principle of prudence. Early in July the authorities, still distrustful, sent that hardy frontiersman and scout, Ephraim Curtis, to Brookfield, nominally to confirm the peace, really, to use their racy language, "to make a perfect discovery of the motions of the Nipmug or Western Indians." His report could not have been reassuring. He found the Indians about two hundred strong encamped on a sort of little island, partly surrounded by a river, and wholly surrounded by miry swamps, called Wenamessit,—and about ten miles from the feeble English settlement. They were in a state of great excitement. Some cried out that he and his company should be killed.

Others dissuaded from such a course. Guns loaded and cocked were placed at his breast. The air was filled with uproar. Finally he had an interview with the sachems, and "left them," as he says, "well appeased."¹ At any rate he got away with a whole skin, which under the circumstances was hardly to have been expected. Curtis made a second visit to the same place ten days later. He found the savages outwardly more quiet but really more dangerous, as they were then committed to hostile measures. They promised to send sachems to Boston to speak to the great white sachem; a promise which they did not mean to keep.² Then it was, on the 27th of July, that the authorities ordered Captain Edward Hutchinson, who had just returned from a similar mission to the Narragansetts, to take Captain Thomas Wheeler of Concord and his little squad of twenty Middlesex troops and go to Quaboag. These men were, with a solitary exception, from Concord or the towns adjoining it. Captain Wheeler was a Concord man; so was his son Lieutenant Thomas; so was Simon Davis who succeeded him in command; and of the remaining eighteen,—though it is not possible to decide with absolute certainty,—probably ten came from the same town. The rest, with the probable exception of one, Zachariah Phillips of Boston, came from the adjoining towns of Chelmsford, Billerica and Sudbury. So the whole stress of danger and difficulty rested upon people of that immediate neighborhood.

The object of this visit was three-fold:—to confirm the Indians, if it might be, in peaceful counsels; to call them to account for their failure to send according to promise an embassy to Boston; and it was added,—we now quote the language of the instructions³—"in prosecution of this affayre, if you should meet with any Indians that stand in

¹ Mass. Archives, lxvii.

² Mass. Archives, lxvii.

³ Archives, lxvii.

opposition to you, or that declare themselves to be your enemies, then you are ordered to ingage them, if you see reason for it and endeavor to reduce them by force of armes." Nothing could have been more foolhardy than this expedition. When we consider the nature of Ephraim Curtis's report, and remember that it was known that the Nipmucks had already attacked Mendon, the only explanation of this sending of twenty-five chosen men to seemingly sure death, is the utter contempt in which the Puritan held his foe. Was peace sought? Then Ephraim Curtis and his two or three Natick Indians were more likely to achieve it. Was war to be waged? What were twenty-five men to cope with two hundred or five hundred savages on their own soil?

Upon the incidents of Brookfield fight we need not dwell. They are simple and well known. The little force¹ "came on the Lord's day about noon (being August 1), to Brookfield, understanding that the Indians were about ten miles to the northwest." Four messengers were sent to tell the Indians that the troops were there, not to make war but to confirm peace. They found "the young men . . . stout in their speeches and surly in their carriage." The chiefs, however, agreed to meet the English the next morning at a plain three miles from Brookfield. Accompanied by three of the principal inhabitants the little force marched thither, but found no one. Captain Hutchinson and his colleague, Captain Wheeler, were then in great doubt; but, persuaded by the Brookfield men, who had entire confidence in the good intentions of the savages, concluded to march to the "swamp where the Indians then were." Between a long rocky hill and a miry swamp, where there was room to ride only in single file, they were surprised by two hundred or more of the enemy. Five soldiers and the three inhabitants were killed, Captain Hutchinson was mortally wounded and died seventeen days after at Marlborough. Captain

¹ Capt. Thomas Wheeler's Narrative.

Thomas Wheeler and his son Thomas and two others were wounded but recovered; though it is believed that the lives both of the Captain and his son were materially shortened on account of their injuries. Among those killed was Samuel Smedley, son of Baptiste Smedley, one of the early settlers of Concord, of Huguenot extraction the name would suggest, who owned and occupied a farm near where to-day Mr. Franklin Daken lives. Mr. Walcott, in his valuable work, "Concord in the Colonial Period," states that a son-in-law had already been killed at Nashoba, and adds that "the death of his son was too heavy a blow for the already severely taxed powers of the aged father, and the tragedy was made complete by the death of Baptiste Smedley only a fortnight after." I cannot refrain from quoting Captain Wheeler's account of his own escape—as found in that narrative which has been justly termed "the epic of Colonial times." The Indians, he says, "fired violently out of the swamp and from behind the bushes on the hillside, wounded me sorely, and shot my horse under me, so that he faltering and falling, I was forced to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much endangered returned towards the swamp again, though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins, where he saw me in the danger aforesaid. Whereupon he endeavored to rescue me, shewing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself into great peril of his life to help me in that distress, there being many of the enemies about me, my son set me on his own horse and so escaped awhile on foot himself, until he caught a horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted and so through God's great mercy we both escaped." "But for this attempt for my deliverance he received another dangerous wound." It is worth while to recall occasionally this simple old story of filial fidelity and filial heroism. The

remnant of the troop, leaving their dead where they fell, rode as they could up the steep and rocky hill, and were conducted by the Christian Indian guides, through paths known to them back to Brookfield, and took refuge in the largest and strongest house in the town. There were gathered, as the historian of North Brookfield believes, eighty-two persons, thirteen soldiers, thirteen citizens, six wounded men and about fifty women and children. And there for nearly three days they endured a siege in a fortress whose sole bulwarks were the single boards of an ordinary dwelling-house, through which the bullets of the enemy constantly passed, killing, wonderful to relate ! only one person, Henry Young of Concord. The savages, to use Hubbard's words, "for two days assaulted that poor handful of helpless people ; both night and day pouring in shot incessantly with guns ; also thrusting poles with fire-brands, and rags dipt in brimstone tyed to the ends of them to fire the house ; at last they used this devilish stratagem, to fill a cart with hemp, flax and other combustible matter, and so thrusting it backward with poles spliced together a great length, after they had kindled it ; but as soon as it had begun to take fire, a storm of rain unexpectedly falling, put out the fire, else all the poor people would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey." Twice that brave scout, Ephraim Curtis, strove to steal through their lines, and was driven back. The third time he succeeded, creeping a long way on his hands and knees, and bore tidings of their peril to Marlborough. On the evening of the third day their hearts were gladdened by the appearance of Major Simon Willard and Captain James Parker of Groton with fifty-one men, including five Christian Indians. The siege was at an end ; and, as a home of men, for ten years, Brookfield ceased to be.

Just where did Brookfield fight take place ? Upon this

point there has been earnest and long-continued discussion. Nor is there to-day any perfect agreement. Many hold that the scene of conflict is to be sought at some point in the defile from the head of Wicaboag Pond, crossing the present town line into New Braintree. Others maintain that it is to be sought on the easterly side of the Winimisset Valley in New Braintree, anciently embraced in Hardwick. Mr. Temple in his history of North Brookfield has admirably stated the evidence for the first theory; while the arguments for the other are clearly put by Dr. Paige in his article in the thirty-eighth volume of the *Genealogical Register*, entitled "Wicaboag or Winimisset?" Several members of this society passed a delightful day in last June, under the auspices of its President, surveying the whole region. One would wish to visit the spot many times before committing himself thoroughly to either theory. What I should say would be that the valley beyond Wicaboag answers well to Captain Wheeler's description: "A very rocky hill is on the right hand," under which one could march sixty or seventy rods. "A thick swamp is on the left hand." Between the two is a narrow defile, to-day in places "so bad that we could march only in single file." At a little distance an Indian trail is said to lead circuitously back to Brookfield. The objections to this theory are twofold: first, the defile is not in direct line ten miles, as Captain Wheeler is thought to state, but only five and a half from the house in which the fugitives took refuge; and second, if the swamp where the fight occurred was the same as that which Ephraim Curtis visited when the Quaboags were encamped on their four-acre island, then the little brook, flowing near the rocky hill, does not answer very well to the muddy river described by him.

If you turn now to the second theory, you can say, that the Winimisset swamp is nearly ten miles from Brookfield; that it is unquestionably a spot where the Indians had a somewhat permanent encampment, and that a muddy river

still exists. On the other hand no such clearly marked defile as the narrative seems to call for is found. The determination of this question depends upon the decision made on just two points; first, was the swamp where, as Wheeler states it, "the Indians then were," the one where Curtis found them, and where Captain Hutchinson's messengers sought them? That is, did the Indians fight near their home or away from it? Second, does Captain Wheeler's ten miles mean in direct line, or by the way which he says "none of us knew" as they rode, to avoid danger of ambuscade, "in open places"? The best judges will differ. As for myself I lean with moderation to "Wicaboag."

We cannot close without some allusion to the English actors in this tragedy. For I question whether in any human transaction, out of such a little body of men you could pick so many who were in themselves so worthy of remembrance, and to whom have come so many descendants of mark.

Let us begin with Captain Edward Hutchinson, a notable member of a notable family. Son of William and the celebrated Ann Hutchinson, he was born in England in 1613. His father owned and occupied an estate, on a part of which the famous Corner Book Store in Boston now stands, and the son's early manhood was probably spent there.¹ In 1637 he was included in the list of such as had been seduced and led into dangerous error by Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, and who were ordered to deliver up "all such guns, pistols, shot and matches as they shall be owner of." He lived however to recover the entire confidence of the authorities, and to obtain positions of honor both in military and civil life. He was a sergeant in 1642,² ensign in 1645, and in 1664 was elected captain of the celebrated "Three County Troope," so called because its members

¹ Mass. Records, I., 211.

² Mass. Records.

came from Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex Counties. In 1642 he was sent to the great tribe of Narragansetts, "with certaine instructions to demand satisfaction for certain injuries." Thirty-three years later, two weeks after the opening of King Philip's War, two weeks before his fatal errand to Brookfield, he was one of those who dictated terms of peace to the same tribe. His opposition, in which he stood almost alone, to the cruel laws against the Quakers better entitles him to remembrance than all his civic or martial honors. He was fortunate in his descendants. His son Elisha was twenty-five years a member of the Council, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Commander-in-Chief of an expedition to Maine against the French and Indians. His grandson Thomas was also for many years a member of the Council; and the Eliot school-house in North Bennet Street, Boston, stands a monument to his liberality and to the fierce prejudice generated by the Revolution, which refused, in the name of the school-house he gave, to perpetuate his memory. The second grandson, Edward, was selectman, representative, Judge of Probate, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Treasurer of Harvard College thirty years. In Thomas Hutchinson, the second, great-grandson of Captain Edward, the honors of the family culminated. We think of him as tory and refugee; but for many years he was the most distinguished and most popular of the sons of Massachusetts. Simply enumerate the positions he held! He was ten years a representative, two years speaker of the House, sixteen years member of the Council, six years Judge of Probate, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court many years,—Lieutenant-Governor thirteen years and Governor three years. In 1760, while Governor Pownall was absent, he actually held and exercised the offices of Judge of Probate, Chief Justice, Councillor, Lieutenant-Governor and acting Governor, an accumulation of offices perhaps never before or since held by one person; and held apparently by him to

the entire satisfaction of the community, until in the great controversy he sided with the King.

Of Captain Thomas Wheeler and his descendants we know less. The name was too common a one to permit the most accomplished antiquarian to unravel the various genealogies. But his "narrative" alone ought to make his name immortal; it is so clear, so full and so charged with the thought and feeling of the time. Our first notice of him is found in the Massachusetts Records; wherein it appears that certain "inhabitants of Concord, Chelmsford, Billerikey, Lancaster and Groton," having petitioned, "the Court judgeth it meet that such persons living in the frontier towns" be "legally capacitated to lyst themselves troopers" "under Thomas Wheeler Sen^r, whom the Court appoints to be their Leiftenant." Two years after he was made Captain, and so remained till his death. This occurred one year and four months after the fight. His son, the Ensign, followed him the next month, leaving as a townsman records only a horse, pistols, cutlash and gun, valued at £6, 12 s., the sole reward, it would seem, of his most valiant service. Captain Wheeler's descendants appear to have been chiefly plain yeomen, whose vocation has not brought them into public notice; but in this generation few men have had a career more honorable than the late Vice-President Wheeler, in whose veins flowed the blood of the old Puritan Captain.

Lieutenant Simon Davis, who succeeded to the command after his superior officers were disabled, was a Concord man, whose home was near what is now the Abel Clark place. According to Wheeler's narrative it was "his lively spirit" which kept up the courage of the survivors. He was one of the two sons of Dolor Davis who was himself first probably of his name in the new country. Lieutenant Simon became Captain Simon, and in King William's war from 1689 to 1697 with forty troopers and thirty foot soldiers was appointed to defend the frontier from Dunstable to Marl-

borough. Of few men can it be said that three Massachusetts governors have sprung from their loins. Yet John Davis, John Davis Long, and George Dexter Robinson are all descendants of Dolor Davis. Whether all come from Lieutenant Simon or from his brother and townsman, Samuel Davis, is not quite clear.

Simon Willard, uncle of Lieutenant Simon Davis, who rescued the Brookfield garrison when it was in extremity, was one of the noted persons in early Massachusetts history. Coming from County Kent, as so many of our best did, with Peter Bulkeley he shared the honor of planting Concord. Twenty-four years later he was called to take the helm at Lancaster, and steered that frontier settlement through all the obstacles and dangers of its early life. He had held almost every post of duty, civic or military, and now at the allotted three-score years and ten he was giving his last moments to perilous public service. He left his stamp on his descendants. The period from 1689 to 1763 was almost one long war between the colonists and the French and Indians. And in that time hardly a day in which one of Simon Willard's blood and name was not standing guard on the frontier; while two presidents of Harvard attest the interest of the family in sound learning.

This account would be incomplete, and unjust in its incompleteness, without some allusion to Captain James Parker of Groton, who, as second in command, accompanied Major Willard and the rescuing party. He was, says Dr. Green in his "Groton during the Indian Wars," "in the early history of Groton without question its most influential inhabitant." This is easily seen to be true. There is hardly an important public paper relating to the infant town but has his signature. Was a meeting-house to be built he must be at the head of the Committee to further it. Was a road to be laid out who so fit to have part in doing it as "Sergeant Parker?" He was chairman of the first Board of Selectmen in 1662, and he appears in that capacity as late

as 1694. He was Town Clerk for several years. With the first fear of an Indian war, on May 6, 1673, it was ordered that, "James Parker of Groaten, having had the care of the military company there for several yeares is appointed and ordered to be their leiftennant, and Wm. Larkin to be ensigne to the said Company there." Sixteen years after, when the conflict entitled "King William's war," was impending, it was still the veteran James Parker who was called to lead the soldiers of the town, being appointed Captain in 1689. Judge Joel Parker was one of his descendants, and the Lawrence family which has filled so large a space in the commercial, manufacturing and philanthropic life of Massachusetts is descended on one side from the Parkers—whether of the Capt. James branch, the genealogy of the family has not been sufficiently put in order to permit a definite statement.

I reserve the most picturesque figure for the last: Ephraim Curtis, scout and interpreter. One wonders that so little has been made of this person; for you have to come down to the days of Robert Rogers, and Israel Putnam, and John Stark, before you find an individual who stands out so clearly on the background of our frontier history. He was the son of Henry Curtis, one of the first settlers of Sudbury, born in 1642, and so only 33 years old at Brookfield. He was evidently a man of courage and iron firmness both in peace and war. No chapter in Lincoln's History of Worcester is more entertaining than the first, in which he gives an account of the contest between the Committee of Settlements and one Ephraim Curtis, a young man from Sudbury. This young man had bought a grant of Ensign Thomas Noyes of 250 acres, and had located it just where the Committee wanted to lay out town lots, especially one for the minister, one for the meeting-house, and one for a mill. This was in 1669. A petition to the Great and General Court signed by four men of name and substance did not terrify the "young man." Four years after he

had added to the difficulty by taking possession of his ground and building thereon a house, becoming, as I judge, the first settler of Worcester. Things began to look serious, whereupon another petition, signed not only by the aforesaid four men of name and substance, but by twenty-nine persons proposing to settle, was sent to the General Court. They stated that they had made all proper offers to the young man, which he had declined. They intimate that if they cannot get the coveted two hundred and fifty acres they shall have to give up the plantation. The affair was finally compromised by giving Curtis fifty acres in the village, on which a descendant still lives, and two hundred and fifty acres outside the village. When we consider that Daniel Henchman, Daniel Gookin, Richard Beers and Thomas Prentice constituted that Committee, men of experience, men of high position and influence in the colony, we can understand of what metal the young man from Sudbury was made. In this frontier life Curtis had somehow become a sagacious scout, and had learned to speak with fluency the Indian tongue. These qualities, together with his known firmness and courage, made him the very man to send on the mission to the Nipmucks. In his narration of that expedition his coolness and undaunted bravery are hardly more evident than his power to picture vividly the exact condition of affairs. In the siege which followed, it was necessary that some one should carry to Marlborough news of the peril of the beleaguered garrison. Twice Curtis failed. But the third time he succeeded, creeping on his hands and knees through the enemies' lines. Thrice afterwards he appears on the Massachusetts Records;—once as a witness against an Indian chief; once as clothed with power to raise a company, “to march under his comands into the wood, and endeavor to” surprise, kill or destroy any of the Indians our enemies;—finally, liberty was given Ephraim Curtis “with such other Englishmen as he shall procure, provided they be not less than thirty men well

armed," "to gather and improve for their own use all the Indian Corn of the Indian plantations belonging to our enemies the Indians that are fled." With these records my knowledge of this heroic character ends. Whether he went back to his trade as a carpenter, or peaceably tilled his acres, or remained to the end a daring scout and Indian fighter I know not. It may be assumed perhaps, that in 1718 he was dead, as his farm was then improved by his son. George William Curtis, the silver-tongued orator, traces back his origin to this stalwart Puritan; and I think it may be admitted, that, in addition to persuasive speech, of which his ancestor does not seem to have been destitute, he inherits the capacity to have views of his own and to stand by them.

With these personal sketches ends my account of the affair at Brookfield and of its actors. I do not propose to follow farther the desperate conflict. The war pursued its devious, cruel course till it closed, so far as our State was concerned, with the death, twelve months later, of Philip, who like a wounded wild beast sought his own lair to die. And when it closed, the Wampanoags, who had welcomed the Pilgrim and given him food and kindness, as a tribe had ceased to exist. It was the first and the last independent Indian war on Massachusetts soil. All later wars may properly be termed French and Indian Wars. And the savage allies of the most Christian monarchs, the Kings of France, came largely from outside the Bay State.

WHEELER'S DEFEAT, 1675: WHERE?

BY LUCIUS R. PAGE.

VERY soon after his crushing defeat by the Indians, August 2, 1675, Captain Thomas Wheeler wrote a "Narrative of the Lord's Providences in various dispensations towards Captain Hutchinson of Boston and myself, and those that went with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also to Quabaug, alias Brookfield," etc. This Narrative, having become scarce, was republished in 1827, in the *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, ii. 5—23. It has recently been again published in the *History of North Brookfield*, pp. 80—89. From this "Narrative" I quote a passage relative to the place where he was defeated:—

"The said Captain Hutchinson and myself, with about twenty men or more, marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28, 1675; and from thence into the Nipmuck Country; and finding that the Indians had deserted their towns, and we having gone until we came within two miles of New Norwitch on July 31, (only we saw two Indians having an horse with them, whom we would have spoke with, but they fled from us and left their horse which we took,) we then thought it not expedient to march any further that way, but set our march for Brookfield, whither we came on the Lord's day about noon. From thence the same day (being August 1,) we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles north west from us, we sent out four men¹ to acquaint the Indians that we were not come to harm them, but our business was only to deliver a message from our Honoured Governour and Council to them, and to receive their answer, we desiring to come to a Treaty of Peace with them, (though they had for several days fled from us,) they having before professed friendship and promised fidelity to the English. When the messengers

¹ One of these men was Ephraim Curtis.

came to them they made an alarm and gathered together about an hundred and fifty fighting men, as near as they could judge. The young men amongst them were *stout* in their speeches and surly in their carriage. But at length some of the chief Sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about 8 of the clock upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield,¹ with which answer the messengers returned to us. Whereupon, though their speeches and carriage did much discourage divers of our company, yet we conceived that we had a clear call to go to meet them at the place whither they had promised to come. Accordingly we with our men accompanied with three of the principal inhabitants of that town marched to the place appointed; but the treacherous heathen, intending mischief, (if they could have opportunity,) came not to the said place, and so failed our hopes of speaking with them there. Whereupon the said Captain Hutchinson and myself, with the rest of our company, considered what was best to be done, whether we should go any further towards them or return, divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed, because the Indians kept not promise there with us. But the three men who belonged to Brookfield were so strongly persuaded of their freedom from any ill intentions towards us, (as upon other bounds [grounds?] so especially because the greatest part of those Indians belonged to David, one of their chief Sachems, who was taken to be a great friend to the English,) that the said Captain Hutchinson who was principally intrusted with the matter of Treaty with them was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a swamp where the Indians then were. When we came near the said swamp, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thick swamp on the left. In which there were many of those cruel blood-thirsty heathen who there waylaid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprise us. When we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a shower of hail, they being (as was supposed) about two hundred men or more."²

¹ Near the head of Wickaboag Pond.

² Narrative pp. 6-8.

In this assault eight men were killed outright, including the three Brookfield men, and five more were wounded, one of whom was Captain Hutchinson, who died about a fortnight afterwards. Having mentioned the names of the killed and wounded, Captain Wheeler continues his Narrative thus:—

“Upon this sudden and unexpected blow given us, (wherein we desire to look higher than man the instrument,) we returned to the town as fast as the badness of the way and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it.”²

A difference of opinion exists concerning the place where the tragical assault was made,—whether in a defile about two miles northward from Wickaboag Pond, on the easterly side of Sucker Brook, and near the line between West Brookfield and New Braintree, or on the easterly side of the Winnimisset Meadow in that part of New Braintree which was formerly included in Hardwick.

During the last summer, by invitation of the President of this Society and accompanied by several of its members, I had an opportunity to explore both of these places. In my judgment there is little to choose between them, so far as their external appearance is concerned. Both answer reasonably well to Wheeler’s description, due allowance being made for the changes wrought by drainage and cultivation in the last two hundred years. The question of location must be settled, if settled at all, by other considerations. And I bespeak your patience while I state very briefly some of the reasons why I believe that Winnimisset, rather than Sucker Brook, was the place of Wheeler’s defeat.

Winnimisset had been visited by Ephraim Curtis twice in the preceding July, and his reports are preserved in the Massachusetts Archives. In his first report, dated July 16, 1675, he says,—“these Indians have newly begun to settle themselves upon an island containing about

² Narrative, p. 10.

four acres of ground, being compassed round with a broad miry swamp on the one side, and a muddy river with meadow on both sides of it on the other side, and but only one place that a horse could possibly pass, and there with a great deal of difficulty by reason of the mire and dirt."¹ At his second visit, he reported, July 24, 1675, that he "found them at the same place where they were before."² And he subsequently testified:—"The third time that I was sent out with Captain Hutchinson, and by his order went and treated with the Nipmug Indians in a swamp about eight miles from Quabouge," &c.³ This last visit was on the first day of August, when Wheeler says, "we sent out four men to acquaint the Indians that we had not come to harm them," and no intimation is given that this was not the swamp "where they were before." On the next day, Wheeler says, "when we came near the said swamp, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thick swamp on the left"; he adds, "we had marched there sixty or seventy rods" before the assault was made. And he gives no intimation that the swamp which he was then approaching was not the same which Curtis had three times visited, and where he understood they were on Sunday, the immediately preceding day, viz., "about ten miles" from the garrison-house in Brookfield.

To recapitulate:—On the first day of August, when at Brookfield, on the summit of Foster Hill, Captain Wheeler understood that "the Indians were about ten miles north west from us,"—and Curtis, on the same day, actually found them "in a swamp about eight miles from Quaboag." As the distances were estimated, not measured, this difference is not material. On the next day, the Indians having failed to meet them, the English party marched from the plain near the head of Wickaboag Pond "towards a swamp

¹ *Mass. Arch.*, lxvii., 214-216.

² *Ibid.*, lxvii., 222.

³ *Ibid.*, lxvii., 254.

where the Indians then were,"—apparently the same swamp which they occupied on the preceding day; and they "came near the said swamp" before they found the difficult pass, where they "could march only in a single file." Having thus "marched there about sixty or seventy rods," they were assaulted by the Indians. "Upon this sudden and unexpected blow," says Captain Wheeler, "we returned to the town as fast as the badness of the way and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it,"—just as far as he supposed himself to be from the Indians on the previous day, when he was at Brookfield.

Two other places are described in the History of North Brookfield, pp. 33, 34, bordering on Ware River, supposed to have borne the same name, and to have been occupied for similar purposes. One of these places is about a mile above that which is described by Curtis, and the other is about two miles further north, on the Woodbury place in Barre. I shall have occasion to speak of them again. But at present I need only say, that, on the eventful morning of Wheeler's defeat, the Indians were at the lower Winnimisset, if there were three such places; and that the authorities which I have quoted indicate that the assault was made near that place. That Captain Wheeler's narrative was so understood by his contemporaries is manifest by the testimony of Hubbard, who wrote in 1677, two years after the event, that a party of soldiers, scouring the woods soon after the conflict, "did the next day march up to a place called Meminimisset by the Indians, where Captain Hutchinson and Captain Wheeler were assaulted."¹ And Hutchinson, writing a hundred years later, says the party was ambushed at "a place called Meminimisset, a narrow passage between a steep hill and a thick swamp."²

¹ Hubbard's History of the Indian Wars in New England, 1677; Drake's Edition, pp. 93, 99. : Meminimisset, Meminimisssee, Menamesick, Menimesseg, Menameset, Weminesset, and Winnimisset, are among the various forms in which this name has been written by different authors.

² Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., i., 292.

Some recent writers, however, have supposed that, although the Indians were confessedly at Winnimisset in the morning of that calamitous day, yet the English troops were assaulted on the border of another swamp much nearer Wickaboag Pond, namely, in the Sucker Brook valley, near the New Braintree line. This theory is advocated by the Rev. J. H. Temple, in his *History of North Brookfield*, pp. 92-118, in the most skilful argument which I have seen on that side of the question. Yet I am constrained to say that he has not convinced me of its truth. In considering this theory, a table of approximate distances, measured upon the maps, may afford some aid:—

From the garrison-house, on Foster Hill, to	
Wickaboag Pond, about	2½ miles.
From the Pond to New Braintree line, about	2½ “
From the Pond to Winnimisset Island, about	6½ “
From the Pond to supposed battle-ground, about	5½ “
From the garrison-house to supposed battle-ground, about	8 “

In opposition to the Winnimisset theory it is urged that “the place is too near the native village site,” only about a mile distant: “Indian strategy, in laying ambushes and making assaults, always provided for a safe line of retreat, in case of disaster, and for a wide chance to give sufficient notice to those in his wigwams to escape with their utensils and provisions.” p. 96. However true it may be that such is “Indian strategy,” in case of warfare or open hostility, it should be considered, in the present case, that the parties were at peace. Hostilities had not yet begun between this tribe of Indians and the English, whose messengers gave ample assurance that they came on an errand of peace. The Indians had no reason to believe there would be any fighting unless they themselves began it. Why not then take a position near their habitation, so that they could easily return, if they kept the peace,

at the same time having no intention to make an assault, unless they were certain of victory? They took no risk, and had no need to make provision for escape.

To obviate a similar objection on the other side, that the Sucker Brook valley is too near Foster Hill to meet the conditions of the case, being only five miles instead of ten miles distant, it is suggested by Mr. Temple, that Captain Wheeler and his shattered party retreated by a circuitous route, "which took them *via* North Brookfield centre to near South Brookfield village, where they would strike the old country road that led directly to the town and Sergt. Ayers' Inn. This would make a march of 'ten miles,' as estimated by Wheeler." p. 97. But it should be observed that Wheeler does not say that he marched ten miles, "by a circuitous route," or otherwise, in returning to the town, but he does distinctly say that he was "then ten miles from it," when he began his retreat.

To the further objection that if Wheeler's horsemen travelled ten miles while the Indians had only five miles to run over a good trail, the town might have been destroyed before the arrival of its defenders, it is suggested again that "the Indians would be busy, in torturing—perhaps burning the wounded, and scalping and stripping the slain, and assorting and dividing the plunder, long enough to account for the three or four hours' time which elapsed after the retreat and till they were met by Curtis and Young." p. 97. But it surely would not require much time to scalp the eight men who were killed; and as to the wounded, Captain Wheeler names five who escaped; but he gives no intimation that a single wounded man was left alive on the field.¹ And even if any of the eight men, reported killed, were still breathing when the retreat began, I apprehend that their sudden death by the tomahawk would be much more in accordance with Indian cus-

¹One Indian, George, was taken prisoner, as will hereafter appear, but he soon escaped, apparently having been neither wounded, tortured or burned.

tom than slow torture or burning, which would hinder pursuit of the fugitives. It also seems very unlikely that they should waste much time in "assorting and dividing" the arms and clothing of the eight men killed, when the town lay within their reach, with much richer and more abundant plunder.

The "relation of James Quannapaquait, alias James Rumny Marsh beeing one of the chtian Indians belonging to Natick; taken the 24th of Jan^{ry} 1675⁶" has been supposed to furnish evidence that the conflict was in the Sucker Brook defile. Having been sent out as a spy, with another friendly Indian, he stated, on his return, that he left Cambridge on the 30th day of December, 1675, and soon afterwards arrived "at a place called Menemesseg, w^{ch} is about 8 miles north where Capt. Hutchison & Capt. Wherler was woounded & sevel men wth them slayn (in the begining of August last) as these indians informed them." I copy from the History of North Brookfield, pp. 112, 113, not having seen the original "relation" in the Connecticut Archives. James is supposed to have obtained this information at the upper Winnimisset, in Barre; and it is said that "measuring southward from the upper Indian village site, on the Woodbury place, eight miles on the Indian trail, the scale touches a point in the Sucker Brook valley, near the dividing line between New Braintree and Brookfield, and about five miles from the old Brookfield town site." p. 95. In regard to this "relation" I observe that in the printed copy, and doubtless in the original also (as the copy purports to be *verbatim et literatim*), the distance between the two places is indicated not by a word, but by an Arabic numeral. The two numerals, 8 and 3, are so similar in form that I vehemently suspect the copyist mistook the one for the other, and that the numeral in the original manuscript is actually 3 instead of 8. If this be the fact, the "relation" by James corresponds with Wheeler's "narrative," indicating a point three miles south

of the Woodbury place, and ten miles northerly from Foster Hill. But if the numeral is really 8, then the two accounts contradict each other; in which case I should have less confidence in the hearsay testimony of James, that the place of conflict was in the Sucker Brook valley, "about five miles from the old Brookfield town site," than in the positive statement of Wheeler, on his personal knowledge, that he was "ten miles from it," when he began his retreat.

One more witness remains to be examined. A "manuscript narrative of George, a christian Indian, taken prisoner in the ambushment of Capt. Hutchinson, etc." is quoted in Hutchinson's *Hist. of Mass. Bay*, i. 293, 294, in which he says that "upon Friday being the 5th of this instant (August) Philip and his company came to us at this swamp, six miles from the swamp where they killed our men." It has been assumed that George was one mile above Winnimisset when Philip arrived, and that he referred to the Sucker Brook valley as the "swamp where they killed our men." The argument is this: "As the 'remains' attest, the 'stronghold' and 'store-town' of the Indians at this time was the second of the Menamesets—where prisoners would naturally be kept, and where Philip with his broken band would naturally resort for safety and food. Measuring southward on the Indian trail aforesaid, the 'six miles' touches the same point as the 'eight miles' named by Quanapohit touched, viz. near the dividing line between New Braintree and Brookfield." p. 95. My estimate of the probabilities is somewhat different. It is to be observed that George does not say he was then at Winnimisset. He gives no name to the swamp; but he merely says it was "six miles from the swamp where they killed our men." Again, he makes a mistake in the date; Friday was the sixth day of August, "the Lord's day" being "August 1."¹ The Indians retreated from Brookfield "towards the break-

¹ Narrative, p. 6.

ing of the day, August the fifth"¹ and Philip did not visit them until the next day, Friday, the sixth of August. It seems to me not very probable that they remained in their known dwelling-place more than twenty-four hours, awaiting an attack by the English cavalry; on the contrary, it does seem probable that, according to their usual custom, they speedily sought concealment and safety elsewhere. Such was their conduct, six months later, when, having destroyed Lancaster and retired to this same Winnimisset, Mrs. Rowlandson tells us that, apprehending an attack by an armed force, then gathering at Brookfield, they suddenly left that place, and "went as if they had gone for their lives for some considerable way;" and, after a short rest, "like Jehu, they marched on furiously,"² until they had put Miller's River between them and their pursuers. So in this case: fleeing from Brookfield before day-light on Thursday morning, there is a violent presumption that before Friday evening they were at least "six miles from the swamp where they killed our men," leaving Ware River behind them, as an obstacle against pursuit. And as a matter of fact, it is understood that, two days later, "on Sunday the 8th, a force marched northward to the Menamiset country, but found no Indians."³

That there was an Indian village about "six miles" from Winnimisset, we are informed by Mrs. Rowlandson, who tells us that when she was visited at Winnimisset by her son Joseph, he said that "he was among a smaller parcel of Indians, whose place was about six miles off."⁴ I know not precisely where that "place" was; it may have been on the border of Pottapaug Pond, in Dana, which bears traces of Indian occupancy, is about six miles from Winnimisset, and near the track by which the Indians would naturally retreat if, as many suppose, they "fled northerly

¹ Narrative, p. 20.

² Indian Captivities, p. 30.

³ Narrative, p. 102. See also Judd's History of Hadley, p. 140.

⁴ Indian Captivities, p. 27.

to Paquayag, now Athol, and other places in that neighborhood."¹ Or it may have been at Nichewaug (Petersham), which is on the same route, and at not much greater distance. According to the well-known custom of the Indians, it seems altogether more probable that Philip visited them at this "place," wherever it was, than that he and they should have ventured to remain, two whole days, at their known dwelling-place, or not more than one mile from it, within easy reach of an armed force by whom they had been already repulsed and might confidently expect to be pursued.

On the whole, in consideration of the ascertained facts and reasonable probabilities in the case, I still adhere to the opinion which I publicly expressed,² half a century ago, that Captain Wheeler suffered his disastrous defeat on the easterly side of the Winnimisset meadows, at some point within the distance of one mile southerly from the homestead on what was formerly known as the Fay Farm, in New Braintree.

¹ Judd's History of Hadley, p. 140.

² Centennial Address at Hardwick, 1838, p. 6.

THE EARLY AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

THE deportation of African negroes—commonly called the slave-trade—was a movement of importance in the commerce of the latter seventeenth and of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most momentous and effective change instituted in the minds of men, by this nineteenth century, is in the general conception and treatment of human slavery. The seventeenth century organized the new western countries and created an immense opportunity for labor. The eighteenth coolly and deliberately set Europe at the task of depopulating whole districts of western Africa, and of transporting the captives by a necessarily brutal, vicious and horrible traffic to the new civilizations of America. The awakened conscience of the nineteenth century checked the horrid stream of forced migrations; but an enormous social structure had been reared on servitude and enforced labor; its overthrow imperilling one of the fairest civilizations of the earth convulsed the great territory and the greater society of the United States of America.

North American slavery fell, and with it a vast structure of ideas, political, social and philanthropic, proceeding from the economic force of slavery on the one hand, and the humanitarian, ameliorating passion of mankind for freedom, on the other. Looking backward one and a half or two and a half centuries, we are amazed and humiliated, when we consider how little people knew what they were doing. When the old and enlightened countries sought eagerly for slaves

and taught their colonial offshoots to depend upon them, they dug a deep pit for their own children.

New England entered upon this long path of twisted social development—this wanton destruction of barbaric life in the hope of new civilized life, this perversion of the force of the individual barbarian into an opportunity for social mischief—with no more and no less consciousness than prevailed elsewhere at that time. The Winthrops and other Puritan colonists asked and received Indian captives for slaves as freely as any partisan went for loot or plunder. Indians were enslaved on all sides, as long as the local tribes lasted;¹ then Maine, then the Carolinas² and other districts³ furnished captives for a never ceasing demand for labor. Cotton Mather⁴ employed his negro servant, showing as little regard for the rights of man, as the Boston merchant or Narragansett planter. Sewall's was about the earliest and almost the only voice, raised in behalf of a large humanity. Fortunately for the moral development of our beloved colonies, the climate was too harsh, the social system too simple to engender a good economic employment of black labor. The simple industrial methods of each New England homestead, made a natural barrier against an alien social system, including either black or copper-colored dependents. The blacks soon dwindled in numbers or dropped out, from a life too severe for any but the hardiest and firmest fibred races.

The mother country knew no humanity, but only an economic opportunity, in the enslavement of the negro. The Royal African Company⁵ in their Declaration, as early as 1662, indicate the sentiment of England in this business. Other nations were invading the African trade, and there was danger that America "be rendered useless in their

¹ Freeman, Cape Cod, p. 72.

² Col. Rec. Conn., 1715, p. 516.

³ Coffin, Newbury, p. 337; Col. Rec. Conn., 1711, p. 233; Essex Inst., VII., 73.

⁴ Proc., M. H. S., 1812, p. 352.

⁵ Declaration, Carter Brown Library, p. 1.

growing Plantations, through want of that usual supply of Servants, which they have hitherto had from *Africa*." To forward the affairs of this slave-dealing corporation, which included the King, Duke of York and many leading persons, was made a constant care for colonial governors.¹ In 1695 the traffic in negroes was considered the best and most profitable branch of British Commerce.² It was a melancholy omen of the immense significance of the slave-trade in that commerce that, the gold coin used even more than the sovereign as a unit of common prices, was named for Guinea whence gold and negroes were taken together.

Slavery was a small factor in New England, because economic laws forbade its growth. It was managed as humanely perhaps, as such a system could be conducted. It was not absolute constraint, nor a permanent confinement. A negro man and woman on Rhode Island in 1735, by "Industry & Frugality scrap'd together £200, or £300." They sailed from Newport to their own country, Guinea, where their savings gave them an independent fortune.³ The slave-trade was likewise, a small constituent in itself, but it exercised a great influence in the whole commerce of the first half of the eighteenth century. Any active element in trade, anything much needed at the moment, affects the general movement of commerce, much more than its actual amount and more particular value would indicate.

Massachusetts writers have always been especially sore, at the point where the trade in African negroes is touched. If they had admitted that in fact, none knew at the time the enormity of the offence and that Massachusetts partook of the common public sentiment which trafficked in Indians or Negroes as carelessly as in cattle, their argument would be more consistent. Massachusetts attained enough in her

¹ Doc. N. York, III., 241, 261.

² Cary's *British Trade*, pp. 74, 76.

³ *Bos. Even. Post*, 1735.

history that is actual and real; it is not necessary to prove that she was endued with superhuman forecast, or a pragmatical morality. Instead of this simple avowal, they admit the good foundation of the indictment, then plead in extenuation of the crime, with Tristram Shandy's wet nurse that "it was a very little one."

In the absence of exact statistics, we must trace the course of the trade in collateral reports and evidence. Dr. Belknap in his friendly correspondence with Judge Tucker in 1795, concerning slavery in Massachusetts, addressed letters to many leading men with various queries. The replies show among other matters the general prevalence of the trade in the province. Dr. John Eliot says: "The *African trade* was carried on (in Mass.) and commenced at an early period: to a small extent compared with Rhode Island, but it made a considerable branch of our commerce (to judge from the number of our still-houses and masters of vessels now living who have been in the trade). It declined very little till the Revolution."¹ Samuel Dexter says: "Vessels from Rhode Island have brought slaves into Boston. Whether any have been imported into that town by its own merchants, I am unable to say. I have more than fifty years ago, seen a vessel or two with slaves brought into Boston, but do not recollect where they were owned. At that time it was a very rare thing to hear the trade reprobated." . . . About the time of the Stamp Act, what before were only slight scruples in the minds of conscientious persons became serious doubts, and, with a considerable number, ripened into a firm persuasion that the slave-trade was "*malum in se.*"²

Thomas Pemberton answers: "We know that a large trade to Guinea was carried on for many years by the citizens of Massachusetts Colony, who were the proprietors of the vessels and their cargoes, out and home. Some of

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., III., p. 382.

² 5 Mass. H. C., III., pp. 384-5.

the slaves purchased in Guinea, and I suppose the greatest part of them, were sold in the West Indies. Some were brought to Boston and Charlestown, and sold to town and country purchasers by the head, as we sell sheep and oxen."¹

John Adams says: "Argument might have some weight in the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, but the real cause was the multiplication of laboring white people, who would no longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury. This principle has kept negro slavery out of France, England, and other parts of Europe."²

From these reminiscences we turn now to the meagre accounts of the trade as it existed. Rhode Island or the modern Newport was undoubtedly the main port of the New England slave-trade. The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations treated her Indian captives and slaves well.³ From the necessity of her situation and from the enlightenment received from Roger Williams, she was more humane than her neighbors in her treatment of the Indian race. In Connecticut as late as 1711, a family of "Indian servants" consisting of Rachel and her seven children were distributed by will; they were called "blacks."⁴ Rhode Island went into the African slave-trade, it being the rising, profitable venture of the time. Newport was a port of the third or fourth class in 1676, far below Boston or Salem. By the turn of the century, its enterprise increased greatly and in fifty years its commerce rivalled in activity though not in extent that of Boston. Massachusetts had the fisheries by priority and the natural advantage of position. In the new development of the eighteenth century rum distilling was a chief factor, as has been shown. Rhode Island's new energy seized upon this industry in company with Massachusetts.

¹ 5 Mass. H. C., III., p. 392.

² 5 Mass. H. C., III., p. 402.

³ R. I. C. R., I., 243, II., 535, III., 483 and IV., 193.

⁴ Caulkins's New Lon., p. 330.

A free supply of rum with new vessels carried the Newport men into the rising slave-trade. In these ventures they had much Massachusetts capital engaged with them.

In 1708 the British Board of Trade addressed a circular letter to all the colonies relative to Negro slaves.¹ To stop the iniquity? Oh, no! "It being absolutely necessary that a trade so beneficial to the kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage"; they desired the most particular statements concerning the numbers imported by the Royal African Company and by private traders. The trade had been laid open to private competition in the year 1698 by Parliament.

Governor Cranston replied, Dec. 5, 1708,² that, from 1698 to Dec. 25, 1707, no negro slaves were imported into Rhode Island from Africa. That in 1696, the Brigantine *Seaflower*, Thomas Windsor master, brought from Africa forty-seven negroes, sold fourteen in the colony at £30 to £35 per head; the rest he carried by land "to Boston, where his owners lived." In 1700 one ship and two sloops sailed directly from Newport to the coast of Africa; Edwin Carter commanded the ship and was part owner in the three vessels. With him sailed Thomas Bruster and John Bates, merchants of Barbadoes and "separate traders from thence to the coast of Africa." All these vessels carried cargoes to Barbadoes and disposed of them there. It would seem that West Indian capital also availed of the advantages of Newport for prosecuting this commerce.

It will be observed that Governor Cranston is careful to limit his statement to Dec. 25, 1707. In February, 1708,³ the Colony laid an impost of £3 on each negro imported. In April it enacted that the drawback allowed in the first act in case the negro was exported again, should be rescinded. There must have been a free movement of negroes, either

¹ R. I. C. R., IV., 53.

² Ibid., pp. 54, 55.

³ There was an act for the same purpose in 1702. R. I. C. R., IV., 471.

from Africa direct, or by the way of the West Indies, to have occasioned such watchful legislation. In 1712,¹ and again in 1715,² the act was tinkered. The Assembly gravely remitted the duties on "two sucking slaves" from Barbadoes in 1716.³ The impost amounted to enough by 1729 to justify an appropriation dividing it, one-half toward paving the streets of Newport, one-half toward "the great bridges on the main."⁴ The tax was repealed in 1732.⁵

We may judge of the state of the public conscience touching slavery and the movement of the slave-trade by the collateral arguments of a writer in the *Boston News Letter*⁶ in 1718. In the previous year there had been eighty burials of Indians and Negroes in Boston. The writer argued that the loss at £30 each amounted to £2,400. If white servants had been employed instead, at £15 for the time of each the town had saved £1,200. A man could procure £12 to £15 to purchase the time of a white servant who could not pay £30 to £50 for a Negro or Indian. "The Whites strengthens and Peoples the country, others do not." Such political economy satisfied the artless publicists of that time.

The merchants of Boston quoted Negroes like any other merchandise demanded by their correspondents. Mr. Thomas Armory had frequent calls from North Carolina. In 1720 he buys for Thos. Bell a man at £60, though they often brought £80. "Since the Law about slaves passed they prove better than they did, and no one sells, but endeavours to buy."⁷ In 1723 he sends out a female house servant bought at £50, on "condition to export her else she would have been worth £70." Again in 1724 "a good likely fellow that speaks English sells from £70 to

¹ R. I. C. R., IV., 134.

² Ibid., p. 191.

³ R. I. C. R., IV., p. 209.

⁴ Ibid., p. 424.

⁵ Ibid., p. 471.

⁶ Mar. 3, 1718.

⁷ MS. letters.

£80." Again, "Nobody sells without some fault." "In the fall we expect negroes here directly from Guinea, a vessel having sailed from here and one from Rhode Island."¹ The Boston News Letter advertises in 1726, "Several choice Gold Coast Negroes lately arrived."² Felt notes a cargo received in Boston in 1727, the highest sale from which was at £80.³ In 1736 the News Letter⁴ has "just imported from Guinea, a parcel of likely young negroes, boys and girls." Advertisements of "imported" negroes, not specifying their locality are frequent. The inventories in Boston and in the various towns often enumerate them, generally one or two in a family. In 1715, Charles Hobby⁵ of Boston leaves six, two at £50, four at £40 each. In 1735, John Jekyll⁶ was responsible for five; one at £85, three at £65, one at £50. In one case we find two cradles for Negroes. In 1740, Richard Hunt⁷ had seven; the prices show the inflation of currency. Great Cuffee at £200, Andrew £150, Will and Little Cuffee £140 each, Tommy £150, Rose £110 and poor Boston only £80. In 1731, Jahleel Brenton⁸ at Newport devises three negroes, a child and an Indian woman.

The Pepperells did not import negroes directly from Africa; their vessels brought them frequently from the West Indies.⁹ Indeed it was said "almost every vessel in the West India trade would return with a few."¹⁰ The West Indies being the large market, naturally controlled the destination of cargoes even when the vessels went from New England, as we have seen in one instance from Newport.¹¹

¹ MS. letters, p. 66.

² News Letter, Oct. 13.

³ Felt, Salem, II., 416.

⁴ Dec. 29th.

⁵ Suffolk P. R., 19, 103.

⁶ Ibid., 32, 310.

⁷ Ibid., 35-42.

⁸ Newport Hist. Mag., Vol. 4, 89.

⁹ Parsons's Pepperell, p. 28.

¹⁰ Bourne, Wells & Kennebunk, and see Mass. Arch., 63, 231.

¹¹ MS. 1257, *ante*.

Governor Hunter reported to the Lords of Trade in 1718 that no negroes come from Africa to New York direct in British vessels¹ "but the duties laid on Negroes from ye other Colonies are intended to encourage their (our) own shipping and discourage the importing their refuse and sickly Negroes here from other Colonies."² In 1731 President Van Dam³ arguing again that the New York duty did not injure Great Britain, mentions a vessel belonging to that colony with a considerable number of negroes on board from Africa.

The African trade from Newport and Boston was conducted in sloops, brigantines, schooners, and snows, generally of forty or fifty tons burden. One brigantine is thus described: "sixty feet length by the keel, straight rabbet, and length of the rake forward to be fourteen feet, three foot and one half of which to be put into the keel, so that she will then be sixty-three feet keel and eleven feet rake forward. Twenty-three feet by the beam, ten feet in the hold, and three feet ten inches between decks and twenty inches waste."⁴ The 3 ft. 10 in. was the height allowed the slaves, in later and worse times, this was reduced to 3 ft. 3 in. with 10 in. to 13 in. surface room for each. The abuses led to a law restricting the number of slaves to two and one half for each ton. In the early times we are treating, the number was about one and one half to a ton. The value of the vessels engaged was not large. The *Sander-son*, brigantine, whose voyages I shall introduce, was offered new in 1745 for £450, Jamaica currency. The snow *Susey* was bought in Boston in 1759, with outfit, for £568, lawful money.

¹ Yet the record says also that private traders imported into New York 1700-1726, 1,573 negroes from the West Indies and 822 from the coast of Africa and Madagascar. Doc. N. Y., V. 814.

² Doc. N. Y., V. 509.

³ Ibid., V. 927.

⁴ Am. Hist. Rec., I., 311-19, 338-45. Geo. C. Mason's statements from MS. records which I use freely.

Small vessels were considered more profitable than large ones, and they were handled by small crews; the captain, two mates, and about six men. Generally a captain and mate, two or three men and a boy sufficed. When the voyage was to the West Indies, a cooper was included, who made bungs, heads, etc., on the outward trip to set up with Taunton and other staves, together with Narragansett hoops, into barrels and hogsheads, when he came into port. White oak staves went into rum casks, and red oak into sugar hogsheads. There were two grades of water casks "common" and "Guinea;" the latter were worth two and a half to three dollars or one third more than the former.

The West Indies afforded the great demand for negroes; they also furnished the raw material supplying the manufacture of the main merchandise which the thirsty Gold Coast drank up in barter for its poor banished children. Molasses and poor sugar distilled in Boston, and more especially in Newport, with rum made the staple export to Africa. Some obtained gallon for gallon of molasses; but the average was 96 to 100. Newport had 22 still-houses; Boston had the best example owned by a Mr. Childs. The cost of distilling was $5\frac{1}{2}$ pence per gallon. Cisterns and vats cost 14s. to 16s. per 100 galls. in 1735, not including lumber; three copper stills and heads, three pewter worms and two pewter cranes cost in London £546.11.3. The quantity of rum distilled was enormous, and in 1750 it was estimated that Massachusetts alone consumed more than 15,000 hhds. molasses, for this purpose. The average price in the West Indies of molasses was 13d. or 14d. per gallon. The consumption of rum in the fisheries and lumbering and ship-building districts was large; the export demand to Africa was immense. It was importunate too. Capt. Isaac Freeman with a coasting sloop in 1752 wanted a cargo of rum and molasses from Newport, within five weeks. His correspondent wrote that the quantity could not be had in three months. "There are so many vessels lading

for Guinea we can't get one hogshead of rum for the cash. We have been lately to New London and all along the seaport towns in order to purchase the molasses, but can't get one hogshead."¹

The Guinea voyagers were known as "rum-vessels." There was no article of merchandise comparable to rum on the African coast. Our forefathers are not to be charged with any especial preference for this civilizing instrument over all the other resources of two continents. Their instincts were neither moral nor immoral; they were simply economic. They had tried dry goods and Africa rejected them in favor of the wet. Capt. George Scott writes pathetically in 1740 from the Coast, of his trials in exchanging dry goods for black chattels. Out of 129 slaves purchased he had lost 29 and then had "five that swell'd and how it will be with them I can't tell." He had one third of his dry goods left and thought if he had staid to dispose of it he would have lost all his slaves. "I have repented a hundred times ye buying of them dry goods. Had we laid out two thousand pound in rum, bread and flour, it would purchased more in value than all our dry goods." Could any hungry and thirsty savage ask for a keener and more sympathetic interpreter of his appetites?

One slaver took out in her cargo "80 hhds. six bbs. and 3 tierce of rum, containing 8220 gals., 79 bars of iron (known as 'African iron,' these bars were used as a currency, as we shall see), 19 bbs. flour, 4 tierces rice, 2 bbs. snuff, 28 iron pots, 20 bbs. tar, 3 bbs. loaf sugar, 4 bbs. brown do., 7 quarter casks wine, 1 bb. coffee, 1 bb. vinegar, 20 firkins, 2 do. tallow, 10 bbs. pork, 15 half do. 10 boxes sperm candles, 4 kegs pickles, 2 bbs. fish, 1 bb. hams, 12 casks bread, 4 casks tobacco, 1 trunk of shirts and cotton hollands, 3000 staves, hoops and boards, 470 ropes of onions, 4 bbs. beans," with water, shackles, hand-cuffs, etc. The cargo was mixed and it was probably intended for touching

¹ Am. Hist. Rec., I., 316.

in the West Indies. The parts adapted for that market would be disposed of, then the rum, shackles, vinegar, etc. would be carried to the West Coast of Africa. Vinegar was a sanitary necessity. In good weather the negroes were brought on deck daily, their quarters were cleaned and sprinkled with vinegar, and if docile they enjoyed the outward air the greater part of fine days. Males were separated from females in the hold by a bulkhead.

Insurance was sometimes effected on the venture, though there could not have been enough written to cover a large proportion of the risks. The premiums were too high, and the merchants through joint ownerships distributed their risks over a large number of ventures and small values. The Newport vessels were taken generally by underwriters in New York. The rate was often eighteen to twenty per cent. on Guinea voyages, one party underwriting about £100. Almost all insurances were underwritten by several parties joining in the contract.¹ Rates varied much in different years, as war brought privateers, or chance brought rovers. From Newport to Jamaica in 1748, the rate was five to six per cent., in 1756 it advanced to twenty per cent. and in 1760 fell to eleven per cent.

After careful and elaborate preparation, manning the vessel, assorting her cargo, planning the voyage and insuring the adventure one would say all was ready to sail. Not so! This world had done its part, but the other worlds—the stars—must be called upon for their conjunction, their propitiating influence in accomplishing a safe and profitable return. An astrologer or “conjurer” was employed to “cast a figure.” This was an elaborate chart displaying cabalistic figures and courses, known to the initiated. Mr. Mason gives an example² and reports examination of hundreds of these horoscopes, many of which were annotated in the margin with the experience supposed to confirm the

¹ For form of policy see *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I., 318.

² *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I., p. 319.

star lore, as "6 D & h always wins the profits," etc. When the hour assigned by the horoscope came, the vessel must start, be it day or night, calm or storm; the moorings were cast and the voyage dated from that fatalistic hour. We may wonder that the Malbones, Vernons, Ayraults, Collinses and others, accounted among the most cultured Americans of their day, affected or patronized such rubbish. But whatever their own esoteric conviction might have been, they could not overlook the superstitious and wonder-loving prejudices of their sailors. Cabin and forecastle both would pluck safety from danger the more certainly, when convinced that the stars in their courses were working in their favor.

These fleets and traders did not find a sure market or a certain supply of captives on the Gold Coast. In subsequent days, about a half-century later, after a thorough system had been established, factories with magazines of the goods coveted by the interior tribes, were kept supplied on the coast. Slave-pens were built and the poor savages were herded ready for the buyer. In our period there was no horrid order in this disorder of the human race. Vessels crowded upon each other, and losses occurred often, through mere irregularity in the traffic. In 1736 Captain John Griffin found this state of affairs and a very "troublesum" voyage. The French were out in great numbers and there were nineteen sail of all nations in the harbor at once. "Ships that used to carry pryme slaves off is now forced to take any that comes: heare is 7 sails of us Rume men that we are ready to devour one another, for our Case is Desprit."¹ The rum men were the New England craft probably. Captain "Hamond" had been on the coast six months, getting only sixty slaves on board. The sturdy man-trading skippers were quite pathetic in the story of their mishaps. Captain David Lindsay, an energetic member of the class, writes from Amanaboe in

¹ Am. Hist. Rec., I., 312.

1753, "Ye Traid is so dull it is actuly a noof to make a man Creasey." His first mate was sick with four of his men. Obligated to replace his worn out cable and stock of oakum, he fears the blame of his owners, yet the "rusk" was too great. Five or six "rum-ships" were at hand. His vessel was not too trustworthy and they could see "day Lite al round her bow under deck. I never had so much Trouble in all my voiges."

Nevertheless the doughty mariner carried his rifted brigantine, the *Sanderson*, into Barbadoes about four months later, with fifty-six negroes, "all in helth and fatt." Of these forty-seven were sold¹ there, the remainder going to Rhode Island probably. Captain Scott in 1740 was sorely tried also. He sent his second mate to leeward trading, but a slave escaped carrying two ounces of the vessel's gold dust. Then the blacks from the shore captured the mate, and the captain going to his rescue was mulcted in £32, in goods, for ransom. He estimated the whole loss through the "mate's folly" at £300. He bought slaves and goods from a Dutchman, intending to sell them to the French. But the unfortunate chattels were all taken "with the flucks," three dying, three more "very bad." He had one hundred good slaves and no gold, waiting for twenty more. Provisions were very high and water cost him ten shillings per day. Every man slave paid for in goods "cost £12 sterling prime."² The price of a prime man slave in 1762 was one hundred gallons of rum. The instances given are types, and the voyages, outfits and orders were quite similar one with another.

Captain Lindsay's troubles did not deter him from other attempts. In 1754 he sailed in a new schooner, the *Sierra Leone*, of forty tons, owned jointly by Wm. Johnston & Co., of Newport, and parties in Boston whose names are

¹ Am. Hist. Rec., I., pp. 339, 340, see for accounts in detail.

² Yet the Western world had advanced the value of "chattels" in 1720. Ten shillings "English goods" would buy a negro at Madagascar. Johnson's *Pirates*, II., 86.

not given. He sailed for Africa direct, and the commissions and privileges given the officers are of interest. In addition to the regular wages, the Captain received four parts out of one hundred and four for "Coast Commission," five per cent. on sale of the cargo in the West Indies, and five per cent. on goods purchased for the return cargo. Moreover, the Captain had a privilege of five slaves, the two mates had a privilege of two slaves for each. In these times the vessel did not carry a surgeon. When he was introduced at a later period he was allowed a gratuity of £50, and the Captain one of £100, if the profit amounted to two per cent.; they received half of these amounts if the loss was no more than three per cent.

Lindsay showed his usual capacity and made a successful voyage in about ten months, much to the gratification of the Boston copartners, in the *Sierra Leone*. They write to their Newport associates, April 28, 1755, "Lindsay's arrival is very agreeable to us & we wish we may never make a worse voyage. Are you determined to get a larger vessel for him?" May 26, 1756, they write concerning a snow of Mr. Quincey's, "She is about 112 tons, a fine vessel for ye Guinea trade."¹ Her name was the *Hanover*, and they afterward purchased her. In the voyage of 1756 Lindsay took one hundred and thirty-three slaves into Barbadoes, having lost eighteen. He carried some gold coin and bought gold dust on the coast. Ivory was handled also in the traffic.²

As the trade grew Newport became more and more the great market. Connecticut reported in 1762 "some few vessels to Coast Guinea." The captains were men of force and business ability, as may be inferred from the foregoing facts. They often took small ventures for the friends of the owners—outward in rum—inward in Negroes. *Charming Polly* lent her romantic name to a Newport

¹ Am. Hist. Rec., I., 341.

² Sheffield, R. I., Privateers, p. 66.

slaver in 1759. One of the schooner's bills of lading bears a hogshead of rum to buy a Negro boy thirteen or fourteen years old, with the remainder in gold dust. Mistress Polly knew not that her name would go down to future generations soiled by contact with this inhuman traffic in the flesh and blood of our dark skinned brothers and sisters. Such conceptions were far above and beyond the ethics of the early eighteenth century. A respectable "elder" who sent ventures to the coast with uniform success, always returned thanks on the Sunday after a slaver arrived in Newport, "that an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessing of a Gospel dispensation."¹ This "elder" has gone the way of other bigoted gospellers. The passions of man are still lustful, and his temper is cruel in gratifying them; but his intellect has been trained into wholesome contempt for the ignorance of these unconscious Pharisees. Science has not solved the mysteries of the unseen, but she has taught modern generations a decent self distrust and some proper respect for all the religions of all the children of God.

The spirit of an early eighteenth century American was bodied forth in Peter Faneuil, whose whole lineage is "held in peculiar honor"² in Boston. Peter was of Huguenot blood, born in New Rochelle, New York, at the very beginning of the century, and was transferred to Boston to become his uncle Andrew's executor and legatee. Trained in the best mercantile system, of moderate enterprise, yet careful, holding the largest estate of the time. Here was a man without reproach, solid, large featured, self considering, but liberal in his way; his eulogist, Lovell, master of the Latin school, voiced the public sentiment at his death, when he said; the bounty of Faneuil Hall, "however great, is but the first fruits of his generosity, a pledge

¹ *Am. Hist. Rec.*, I., 312.

² *Mem. H. Bos.*, II., 259.

of what his heart, always devising liberal things, would have done." His private charity was equal to his public munificence, "so secret and unbounded that none but they who were the objects of it can compute the sums which he annually distributed."

In such savor of holiness, charity and benignity, lived this pocket-prince bachelor and husband of property, as he walked to church with his good sister, velvet-bound prayer book in hand, his heart holding "many more blessings in store for us," his fellow-men, according to gushing Mr. Lovell. For his fellows, yes; not for humanity as it came to be known a generation later, when King George's red coats put a curb on proud Boston, and the people—Huguenot or English, native or African, black or white—mustered to put down tyranny, to assert independence.

No matter how large the inheritance, how successful the ventures, how full the tide an inflated currency floated into good Peter's coffers, it must be made larger. Commerce must mix, trade must go. He drums up debtors with proper vigilance, submits reluctantly to the customary two and one-half per cent. exchange his friend and frequent correspondent, Gulian Verplanck, charges him in New York. His eye is open, scanning the commercial horizon and seeing that men everywhere "act the Honest and Just part by me."¹

Greed and thrift are near allied. The poor Captains Lindsay and Scott tugging painfully over on the Gold Coast, the small merchants handling rum down at Newport, had no keener eye for profit and increase than this sumptuous merchant—bewigged, beruffled and bebuttoned—as he strutted modestly down the broad terraces of the stately mansion near King's Chapel, to seat himself in the "chariot" with arms and harness, "in the handsomest manner." We get an occasional glimpse in the one letter book² preserved, of items which look shady and sooty.

¹ Letter Book, 1737. N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc'y.

² In Cabinet N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc'y.

March 24, 1739, he hopes Verplanck has "an acco^t of the Negroes being sold." April 15, 1740, he expects a remittance of gold dust from "Coast of (an unreadable name)." These may be coincidences; all the traders dealt more or less in gold, ivory and "black ivory."

But can we believe the curious, prying eyes of modern research, as it uncovers an actual venture after Negroes, a voyage deliberately planned by Peter Faneuil, owned one-half by himself, one-quarter by his neighbor John Jones, and one-quarter by the Captain John Cutler? The name of the craft, too; did Peter slap his fair round belly and chuckle when he named the snow, *Jolly Bachelor*? This must be merely the sad irony of fate that, the craft deliberately destined to be packed with human pains and to echo with human groans should in its very name, bear the fantastic image of the luxury loving chief owner. If these be the sources of profits and property, where is the liberty of Faneuil Hall, where the charity of good Peter's alms?

Neither Faneuil, the owner, nor Cutler, the master, lived to see the return of the snow with the ghastly funny name. The safe and prosperous merchant went out from the Trimountain city in all the pomp of funeral circumstance, as we have seen. Poor Cutler, with two of his sailors, was "barbarously murdered" on the Coast of Guinea near the Banana Islands, by the natives whom he was persuading and converting "to the blessing of a Gospel dispensation."

This catastrophe was March 9, 1742. George Birchall, a resident of Banana Islands, Sierra Leone, then appeared on the scene and took possession of the abandoned vessel. The natives had stripped her and carried off such slaves as were already on board. Birchall with considerable skill apparently, bought back a part of her stores from the natives, together with twenty slaves, refitted the snow with sails and rigging from English slaving vessels, and appointed Charles Wickham master. Wickham shipped two mates, a boatswain and two sailors, April 10, 1743,

and two more sailors May 1, at Sierra Leone for New England, and brought his vessel into Newport about the sixteenth of August following with twenty Negroes on board. George Birchall libelled the vessel and cargo in a friendly suit for salvage before Hon. John Gridley, Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty of the Colony of Rhode Island. Benjamin Faneuil, brother, administrator and heir of the late Peter, with John Jones, all of Boston, appeared to claim their rights, one-half having been Peter's, one-quarter Jones's and one-quarter Cutler's, the late master for whom Benjamin was executor. Judge Gridley decreed the sale of vessel, cargo and Negroes by William King, Deputy Marshal, awarding one-third of the proceeds to Birchall for salvage and two-thirds to Faneuil and Jones.

There were some nice points involved, for while reasonably enough there was no dispute about such well won salvage, Gridley curiously rejected the "Portage bill"¹ of

¹ This "portage bill," the bill of costs and the sworn statement of Benj. Faneuil, Adm^r., are given at length. The documents of the case, unusually full for the time, are preserved in the Rhode Island Archives at Providence.

"A Portage bill of mens Names and wages Due on board the Snow Jolly Bachelor, Charles Winkham master, bound to Newengland Commencing at Serrilione, 10th of April, 1743.

Mens Names.	qualities	w ⁿ Shipt	w 6 month Sterling	w ⁿ Dis- charg'd	w ^s Due.
Charles Winkham	Master	April 10	£6 - -	Aug ^t 18, 1743	£25.. 12..
John Battey	Mate	D ^o	3.. 10	D ^o 17 -	14.. 16.. 4
Oliver Arnola	2 ^d mate	D ^o	3.. 10	D ^o - -	12.. 14..
Alex. ^{der} McKinsey	Boatswain	D ^o	3	D ^o 16	12.. 12..
Silvester Sweet	Sailor	D ^o	2.. 10	D ^o 18 -	10.. 13.. 4
Oliver Somes	D ^o	D ^o	2.. 10	D ^o 16	10.. 10 -
W ^m Henerey	D ^o	May y ^e 1 st	2 -	D ^o 16	7.. 1.. 4
W ^m Hyat	D ^o	D ^o	2.. 10	D ^o 18	8.. 18.. 4
					£102.. 17.. 4

Newport, Aug^t 18th, 1743.

E: E: p. CHARLES WINKHAM.

Burchell & Co. of Snow Jolly Bachelor.	Cost of Court.
For Drawing the Libels & attorneys Tax.....	£0.. 18.. 8
For filing and allowing.....	12.. 8
To attachment Seal and service.....	.. 10.. -
To the marshalls Fee.....	.. 2.. 6
To three Interligitary Decree & Recos.....	2.. 11.. 6
To Taking Evidence in Court.....	.. 6.. -
To a Copy of the Libel.....	.. 2.. 6

officers and men's wages £102. 17. 4 from Sierra Leone to Newport. Leonard Lockman in a subsequent decree, Aug. 26, 1743, allows this bill and orders Marshal King to pay it from the proceeds. We wonder how it could have been otherwise, but the judge must have had legal ground for the first decision.¹

The snow was sold to Captain Wickham for £1,300. The twenty negroes sold for £1,644, ranging from £40 to £134 each. The men averaged nearly £84, the women nearly £79; but while the highest man brought £134, the next dropped to £100, while three women brought respectively, £101, £105, £106. The mocking ironies in this whole transaction are not confined to the portly Faneuils. A list of honorable names, Vernon, Tweedy, Brinley,

To the marshall for keeping the Vessel in Custody 19 days.....	2..	7..	9
To the marshall for selling Snow & Twenty Negroes at 2½ p Cent....	18..	5..	6
To the Reg ^r for paying & Ceerving D ^o at 2½ p. Cent.	18..	5..	6
To the Doorkeeper &c.....	..	4..	6
To Decree Definitive & recording.....	1..	12..	10
	£46..	2..	8
	£184..	10..	8

JN. GRIDLEY, Judge.

And Benjamin Faneuil of Boston in New England Esq. as he is Adm^r of all & singular the Goods Debts Rights & Credits of Peter Faneuil late of sd Boston Esq. dece'd who in his life owned one half of the Snow aforesd her Cargo &c and as he the sd Benj. is also Execut^r of ye Late Will and Testament of the aforesaid John Cutler dece'd who in his Life owned one other quarter part of sd Snow &c and John Jones of Boston aforesaid Merch^t who owneth the other Quarter of sd Snow &c come into Court & say they have always been & still are ready to pay the proponent (on his delivering to the s^d Benj. & John or their Bros. the Snow aforesaid her Cargo &c) a just & reasonable Reward for saving the s^d Vessel her Cargo &c. & sending her into this port of this &c.

THO WARD."

¹ Another case opens the question of wages. Before Captain Charles Wickham took command of the *Jolly Bachelor*, apparently he was adrift on the Guinea coast, his snow, the *Eagle*, having been taken from him Feb. 9, 1742-3, by a Spanish privateer. He had shipped in the *Eagle* from Newport for Guinea, Sept. 8, 1742, Alex. Mackensie, at £3 per month. Wm. Wyat and Silvester Sweet each at £7. 3. The prices must have been in paper currency. The sailors claimed that enough of the *Eagle's* cargo was saved to pay their wages and they "libel & appeal" against Wickham in Judge Gridley's court. The case was set down for the Saturday after Sept. 30, 1743. The result of the trial does not appear.

Robinson, Carr, Cranston are represented in Marshal King's list of purchasers of the captives procured by Faneuil's gold and Cutler's blood. But there is one name pre-eminent, in being borne by the descendant who became three-quarters of a century later, the greatest anti-slavery exponent, when New England waked to the final struggle. Then Boston did not come, but Newport went to Boston. The buyer of the highest priced "£134 negro boy" was Mr. Channing. Was he the grandfather of William Ellery Channing?

The armament provided by Birchall for the *Jolly Bachelor* deserves mention, for it shows what was indispensable for a slaver carrying forward our Elder's gospel mission. Birchall and Captain Wickham did not buy unnecessary outfit in the far away market of Sierra Leone. It included four "buckaneer" guns at six bars each, two small guns at four bars, two muskets at four bars, four guns at five bars, powder seven bars, one small gun eight bars, two pistols eight bars, six cutlasses at one bar. Other articles in the new outfit were ship stores and provisions, the inevitable rum and "Manyoea." This was furnished several times, and as a boat load cost only two bars it must have been a native article of diet. The whole outfit at Sierra Leone cost 744½ bars.

We rub our eyes in amazement that any portion of exact and worthy Peter Faneuil's "effects" or accounts was estimated in bars. Gold dust, ingots and plate were only various forms of specie, but bars did not appear on the ledgers of the early solid men of Boston or Newport. The European and American missionaries—if they did not carry all the Spartan virtues to the forsaken dark continent—at least gave it the boon of the iron currency of the Lacedaemonians. To give the strong metal value in use and value in exchange, they forged it into bars, known in New England as "African iron." These would make handy pocket pieces for the inhuman savage, when he should arrive at a pocket, or they could be welded into

convenient shackles to pin him down to a slaver's deck in three feet three inches, or at the most three feet ten inches of sitting room and free ventilation.

A pound sterling at Sierra Leone in 1743 was equal to twelve bars of this iron, a negro slave when the *Jolly Bachelor* balanced accounts June 14, was worth sixty bars or £5. At about the same time, according to Mr. Mason's old Newport documents, he was worth £12 in "goods," *i. e.* rum, at Sierra Leone.¹ We see the frightful scale by which merchandise ascends through rate after rate—paper priced rum, coast valued iron, sterling gold—while human flesh, sense, mind and spirit goes down in corresponding degradation.

The Romans were great but not humane, the Spaniards able and cruel, the English strong and sensible but selfish, the Americans followed in the footsteps of this civilization they inherited but did not create. The whole world in the eighteenth century, previous to the movement beginning in the American Revolution, which stirred the nations to their depths and shook thrones from their foundations, knew nothing of a refined humanity, knew but little even of the justice which should let men go free. The children of the world in their day are wiser than the children of light. Molasses and alcohol, rum and slaves, gold and iron, moved in a perpetual and unwholesome round of commerce. The most enterprising, alert and active ports only admitted the more of this fetid misery. All society was fouled in this lust, inflamed by this passion for wealth, callous to the wrongs of imported savage or displaced barbarian. The shallow sympathy expressed in the seventeenth century for Indians and native proprietors had expended itself. A new continent in possession, old Ethiopia must be ransacked, that the holders might enjoy it more speedily. Cool, shrewd, sagacious merchants vied with punctilious, dogmatic priests in promoting this prostitution of industry.

¹ See MS., p. 38, *ante*.

THE FIRST SCHOLARSHIP AT HARVARD COLLEGE.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

IN the Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, under date of June 2, 1641, the following entry was made:¹ "The Court doth intreat leave of the Church of Salem for Mr. Peters, of the Church of Roxberry for Mr. Wells, & of the Church of Boston for Mr. Hibbens, to go for England upon some weighty occations for the good of the Country, as is conceived." What "the weighty occations for the good of the country"² were appears in a general way from what they did when they reached England. A part at least of the work of this committee was to solicit aid for the Colony and for the cause of education, and although at a subsequent date a doubt was thrown by a committee of the General Court over the extent of the benefit which the Colony derived from the services of these gentlemen, yet it is clear that Harvard College, representing the cause of education and "the advancement of learning," reaped some advantage from their labors. From the records of that institution we learn that "Mr. William Hibbins, Mr. Thomas Welds & Mr. Hugh Peters procured from diverse gentlemen & merchants in England towards the furnishing of the Library with Books to the vallue of one hundred & fifty pounds." In the accounts of Tyng,³ the Country Treasurer, there is an entry in 1644 which recognizes the existence of a balance due the College for money remitted by Weld and Peters, although the amount

¹ Mass. Rec., i., 332.² See Winthrop, ii., 25.³ H. C. Records. See also Quincy, i., 455.

is not stated. Weld rendered an account to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England,¹ of what money was paid himself and others, stating from whom the contributions were received and for what purposes they were given. This account covered all transactions from his first landing in England "until this present 10th of the 2nd mo. 1647." A duplicate, containing no reference to the Society, but headed "Copie," is on file in the Massachusetts Archives. Under the heading "What I rec'd for the College & for the advancement of learning" are the following entries :

The Lady Moulsham gave mee for a Schollership £100, the revenue of it to bee imployed that way for ever for wh I entered covenant & am bound to have it performed	£100.
Mr Holbrook Schoolmaster gave me	22.
Mr Bridges his will	50.
Mr Greenhill	7.
Mr George Glover to buy two books	2.
Given by a godly friend of myne who will have his name concealed	50.
	<hr/> 231 <hr/>

The account from which this entry was taken was apparently submitted to a committee consisting of Increase Nowell, William Tyng and Edward Jackson, who on the 25th of the 8th mo., 1651, accepted and approved it.²

In a letter dated at Gates heade, January 2, 1649, Weld alludes to his collections for the College and to the scholarship as follows :³

"Others gave to the Colledge and advance of learning which was paid, some little towarde y^e building of y^e Colledge per Bill, some to the President for his greate laboure taken upon request of y^e ffeoffees of the Colledge, some laid out for Utensils for the Colledge by their desires (as pewter, brass, Ironware, lynnenn), some laid out in Bookes

¹ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xxxix., 179.

² Mass. Arch., lviii., fols. 3, 4, 5, 6. See also Quincy, i., 473, 474.

³ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xxxvi., 63.

to supply theire Library and for erecting a schoole att Roxbury, besides twoe Schollarships of £5 per annum, a piece settled for ever on the Colledge." And again he says: "Of y^e lady, y^e La. Moulsham who (out of Christian desire to advance good learning) gave an £100 to be improved in N. Enge. in y^e best way for y^e help of some poore scholar, or scholars in y^e Colledge, & to be settled for y^t use, W^{ch} being given in upon account to y^e state there & y^e pious desire of y^e Lady signified they settled £10 per annum for ever upon two poore scholars in y^e Colledges £5 a piece."¹

It is with the £100 contributed by Lady Moulsham, or as she herself spells the name Lady Mowlson, that we have to deal. From the foregoing extracts we learn that the money was paid to Weld, that he entered into a covenant that it should be applied according to the wishes of the giver, that he paid it on "account to the State there," with a statement of the "pious desires of the Lady," and that the "State" thereupon "settled £10 per annum for ever upon two poore scholars in y^e Colledges £5 apiece." In the spring of 1645 the money had been received and the General Court ordered thanks to be returned to Lady Mowlson for her gift.² Thus the first scholarship at Harvard was founded by a deposit of the money in the treasury of the Colony, and, according to Weld, an undertaking was entered into on the part of the Colony to meet the wishes of the founder by the payment of £5 apiece per annum to two poor scholars in the College.

By diligent search of the records of the Colony and of the College, Quincy collected the main facts concerning the history of this scholarship. It is not probable, however, that he saw the original document which was executed at the time of the payment of the money to Weld and which was forwarded to this country to show what the conditions were for the performance of which Weld had covenanted. This document was mounted in a scrap-book by

¹"Innocency cleared." N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xxxvi., 68.

²Winthrop, ii., 212.

President Sparks, when he overhauled the College archives and had the manuscript papers collected, arranged and bound. It is engrossed upon parchment, and although by its terms it is an agreement on the part of Weld, it bears only the signature of Lady Mowlson. The fact of the gift was set forth in it, the terms on which the money was given, and a covenant on the part of Weld for the specific performance of those terms. It is evident that the attorney who prepared the instrument had two copies engrossed. One to be surrendered after execution to Lady Mowlson, the other to be forwarded to Massachusetts Bay. Through ignorance as to the proper manner in which to execute the papers, Weld probably signed one copy which was retained by Lady Mowlson, while she signed the copy which was kept by Weld. The misunderstanding on this point has preserved for us the precious signature of Ann Mowlson the founder of the first scholarship at Harvard College.

The following is a copy of the document :

Know all men by these p'sents that I Thomas Wells alls Weld Pastor of Roxbury in the Plantaton of New Engla[nd] doe by these p'sents acknowledge that I have received of the Lady Ann Mowlson of London Widdow the full & intire some of o[ne] hundred pounds current English mony the weh she hath freely given to Harvard's Colledge in New England to be imp[roved] by the feofees of the sd Colledge for the time being to the best yearly reve-new that may be thought fitt in their wisdome which yearly reve-new according to her good & pious intention is to be & remaine as a ppetuall stipend for & towards y^e per[petual] maintenance of some poor scholler which shalbe admitted into the sd Colledge by the sd feofees or the major pt of the[m] which poore scholler is to injoy the sd yearly stipend only till such time as such poore scholler doth attaine to ye degr[ee] of a master of Arts & no longer, and then the sd yearly stipend shall by the sd feofees be bestowed upon another poor scho[llar] of the sd colledge whom the sd feofees shall think best deserveing, and soe the sd stipend to goe in succession from [one] poor scholler to another therefor & towards their yearly maintenance in perpetuum in manner & forme as afforesd And in case it shall fall out at such time

as y^e sd yearly stipend shalbe appointed by the sd feofees to be bestowed upon anoth[er] poore scholler there, then if there shalbe any poore scholler admitted into the sd Colledge that shalbe a kinsman of the sd Lady Mowlson, & shalbe deemed by the sd feofees or the major pt of them to be of a good & pious conversation & to be well deserveing of y^e sd yearly stipend as afforesd that then [it is] the reall intention & desire of the sd Lady Mowlson that such a poore scholler there being her kinsman shalbe first p^rferred & appointed by the sd feofees to have & enjoy the sd yearly stipend in manner & forme as afforesd before any other scholler of the sd college whatsoever that is not her kinsman. And for the p^rsent the sd Lady Mowlson's desire is that John Weld now a scholler in the sd colledge shall have the sd stipend till he attaine the degree of a Master of Arts. To the dew & true pformance of which good and pious intent & desire of the sd Lady Mowlson I the sd Thomas Weld for mysele my executors & administrators doe cove[nant] and promise to & with the sd Lady Mowlson her executors & administrators in and by these prsents that the sd so^me of o[ne] hundred pownds & the yearly renew thereof shalbe disposed of and imployed to the only intent and purpose in y^e manner & forme as is herein before mentioned and not otherwise. In wittnes whereof I the sd Thomas Wel[d] hereunto set my hand and seale this ninth day of May in the ninteenth yeare of the raigne of or Sovereigne L[ord] King Charles pr. 1643.

Memorandum that it is likewise the intent & desire of the sd Lady Mowlson that such her kinsman as shalbe admitted into y^e sd colledge shall imediatly from y^e time of his admittance have the yearly renew of the hundred pounds abovementioned till he attaine the degree of a Master of Arts notwithstanding that it should be oth^rwise disposed of formerly to anoth^r poore scholler by y^e abovesd feofees.

[Signed]

ANN MOWLSON.

Subscribed by y^e sd Lady Ann Mowlson in
y^e presents of

ARTHUR BARNERDISTON
THO. GOODYEARE.

The mystery which obscured the origin of John Harvard
17

has been partly cleared away by well directed, intelligent research. Notwithstanding the great interest which attaches to the name of Lady Mowlson, Quincy was compelled to sum up what he could find out about her in the paragraph: "Nothing is known of Lady Mowlson except that she was among the earliest of the transatlantic benefactors of the college." A grateful posterity not content with merely honoring her name and holding up for admiration her liberality in thus generously endowing the distant College in the wilderness, would gladly know more of her. Perhaps a clue to her kinsfolks may be found in the designation of "John Weld now a scholler in the sd college" as the first beneficiary of the exhibition.

Knowledge of the gift by Lady Mowlson may be traced to the College officials in December, 1643, for at the meeting of the Governors of the College at which the seal was adopted Dunster makes the following entry:¹ "ffor the 10th P. annum in respect of Lady Moulson's gift of 100^{lb}, it's deferred for 2 Reasons first because we have not the monny, And 2 ly we can not give any thing out of the Country Treasury till a General Court. Had we the monny in hand we would presently effect it." It was perhaps in hope that the College might soon have the "monny in hand" that Mr. Pelham was elected Treasurer at this meeting. There were certainly no other funds belonging to the College at that time which were likely to remain in the hands of the Treasurer. However that may be, Pelham does not appear to have qualified for the office, and the Lady Mowlson fund remained in the country treasury for many years after.

In 1655 a petition for relief was presented to the General Court in which the dilapidated condition of the College building, then only fifteen years old, was dwelt upon and the statement was made that the real revenue of the College was "about twelve pounds per annum (which is a small pittance to be shared among four Fellows), besides fifteen

¹H. C. Records.

pounds per annum which by the donors appointments, is for scholarships." This fifteen pounds per annum for scholarships was the interest allowed for certain funds belonging to the College, of which Lady Mowlson's gift was a part. The deputies having examined the matter reported on the 25th of the 3d mo. 1655, that there was due the College from the country about an hundred and fifty pounds, for which interest was paid and that it was meet that the said £150 should be added to the next country rate. From this conclusion the magistrates on June 21, 1655, dissented, saying they could not consent thereto because the £150 was given by the Lady Mowlson and others, for scholarships annually to be maintained there, which this court could not alter.¹

Lady Mowlson's hundred pounds was by this act saved, and remained in the hands of the treasurer of the Colony who paid the College interest for its use.² During the time that the fund of the scholarship was in the form of a country debt, it finds frequent mention in the statements of the College property which the treasurers were accustomed to submit to the corporation.

In 1654 it is described as "Lady Moulson's gift w. is in the hands of the Country Treasurer for w. £15 per annum for four scholarships."

In 1663 in the "Abbreviate of the accounts of Harvard College for five years past," it is entered as follows: "By so much in y^e hands of the Country Treasurer being the gift of y^e Lady Moulson 100^{lb}, & of Mr. Bridges 50^{lb}, & other small gifts the whole being 162^{lb} 16^{sh} 4^d." In an "Account of the Colledge Stock in 1668," "It appears that the Country Treas^r hath in his hands mony y^t was y^e gift of Lady Moulson' 100^{lb}," etc., etc.

¹ Mass. Arch., lviii., 32, 33. See also Quincy, i., 465.

² A suspicion naturally arises that the General Court had this fund in mind when in 1644 the order passed that £150 be gathered by the Treasurer for the College out of the money sent out from England for the children. Mass. Records, ii., 84.

In 1669 Danforth in turning over the accounts to Richards took his receipt for deeds and papers. The Lady Mowlson scholarships are described in this receipt as above with the added clause "to pay fifteen pounds per annum."

At a corporation meeting held February 3, 1672, all present, it was "ordered y^t Mr. Richard Russell be desired to give y^e Colledge testimony of an 162^{lb} 16^{sh} 4^d y^t y^e Country hath of y^e Lady Moulson's gift to y^e sd Colledge unless there be an assurance of y^e 15^{lb} p. annum or some graunt to y^t effect."

In 1682 the item is entered in the inventory of the College property as if it were considered a debt due from the estate of Richard Russell:

"Due from the Exr^s of Rd. Russell, Esqr. for which they pay 15^{lb} p. annum. 162^{lb} 16^{sh} 4^d."

In 1683, in "an account of the estate belonging to Harvard College under the care of Samuel Nowell delivered unto him by Thomas Danforth," the following entry appears:

"The Country Treas^r Dr. for 162^{lb} 16^{sh} 4^d
for wch annually they pay 15^{lb} in Country pay."

In 1693 Brattle makes the following entry:

"Richard Russell Esqr. late Treasur^r for the Country Dr. for y^e Lady Moulson's &c gift 162^{lb} 16^{sh} 4^d
(being 15^{lb} per annum) that the sd Russell used to pay, it being let to the Country—Nothing rec'd for many years."¹

During this period the £100 contributed by Lady Mowlson, which according to Weld's account was remitted with other funds that as a whole footed up £231, became permanently associated with the £50 from Mr. Bridge's estate and £12 16s. 4d. from unknown sources. By this process the income of the £62 16s. 4d., which does not appear to have been specifically given for scholarships, was lumped with that from the Lady Mowlson fund and until all payment of interest ceased, £15 per annum was paid for scholarships. It figured at different times as a debt of the

¹ All the foregoing items are from the H. C. Records.

Country, as the personal indebtedness of Russell and as a debt due from the executors of his estate. In some of the entries the Lady Mowlson fund was charged up as if the principal were £162 16s. 4d., while in others the qualifying "&c." preserved the record of the fact that it constituted only a part of this item. Still another amount is mentioned for this fund by Felt, in a Memoir of Hugh Peters,¹ who says under date of 1642, "Near this time they obtained £150 from Lady Moulson and other donations from the liberally inclined, for the college."

In 1693 a petition for this money was addressed by the College to "his Excellency, Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General, & Governour in Chief of their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Great & General Court or Assembly of the said Province."² In 1695 the petition was renewed. In 1698 the President and Fellows of Harvard College through the President represented to the General Court, "That about 50 years since y^e Lady Moulson & other well disposed persons in England gave a considerable sume of money to y^e s^d Harvard Colledg, wch mony was laid out in England & y^e produce of it here amounting to £162 16^s 4^d Lent & paid in to y^e Treasury of y^e late Colony of the Massachusetts, for y^e use whereof fifteen pounds (in Country pay) was allowed annually by y^e Gen^l Court & duely paid by y^e Country Treasurer to the Treasurer of y^e Colledg from y^e year 1648 to y^e year 1685, as y^e Honb^{le} Mr Thomas Danforth & Mr James [Richard?] Russell sometime Treasurers of y^e said Colledg & Country can certify, since w^{ch} Time by reason of change of Govern^t & y^e Countryes great debts & Charges, nothing has been rec^d from y^e Country on that acco^t, whereby y^e Colledg has suffered not a little, its Stock being very low, & not capeable of defraying its necessary Charges.

¹ N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., v., 237.

² H. C. Records.

Your petitioners do therefore humbly pray y^e said matter may be taken into your Consideration & that now y^e Country is out of debt, you will be pleased in yo^r great equity & goodness to give order for y^e [] of said principall sume of 162.. 16.. 4^d, with wt remains unpaid of y^e use thereof &c.”¹

In 1712 the matter was again pressed by Leverett and this time the effort was successful.²

In Brattle's book in the Harvard College Archives, under date of March. 29, 1713, there is the following entry :

“Cash rec'd of Mr Taylor Province Treasur^r £426 10^{sh} 4^d being £162 16^{sh} 4^d of it y^e principal remaining due of monies borrowed by y^e late Colony of y^e Massachusetts Bay of y^e College & £263.. 14/ being for sd sum at 6 pr c. p. anno from the year 1685 to this time less pd Mr Addington for a warrant to y^e Treasurer to pay me sd sum pursuant to a resolve of y^e Genl Court at their last session in March last 2/.”

“Memd^m This £162 16/4^d w^s w^t w^s due from my Lady Moulson's &c gift to o^r College lent y^e Country a^o 1648 & they pd Int. for till 1685.”³

Thus the College was in 1713 for the first time placed in possession of the principal of the Lady Mowlson scholarship. The College records as a rule are particularly full as to the disposition of exhibition funds. They are singularly barren with reference to this scholarship. For the twenty-eight years immediately previous to this payment, there had been no income from the fund received by the College, and consequently there could have been no distribution to the students. But, even before that period, when there is no reason to doubt that the interest was regularly paid by the Colony, the rule which prevailed as to recording the disposition of the income of the exhibition funds does not

¹ See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. vi., 343.

² Quincy, i., 206.

³ See also Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1862, p. 343.

seem to have been applied to this. By the terms of this gift the College officials were the persons who were to assign the scholarships. If they exercised the privilege they made no record of it. After the receipt of the principal, this exhibition stood upon the same footing as all others of which the College was the depository of the funds, and it would have been natural that the same careful record should have been kept of the annual distribution of the income, as was customary with the others. Such was not, however, the case, and it is only through a chance record in 1743, where £9 are appropriated out of the income of the "Lady Moulson" fund, and another similar entry in 1746,¹ that we are able positively to trace the separate existence of the fund at these dates.

When the College accounts were opened in double-entry bookkeeping, the outstanding exhibitions were merged in an "Exhibition Account," and from that time the individuality of the several exhibitions collected in that account was lost. Some of the more important scholarships which were thus consigned to oblivion have been rescued by President Eliot and restored to separate life. If an analysis of the exhibition account should fail to reveal the fact that the Lady Mowlson's gift is hidden in its depths, let us still hope that the "good & pious intentions" of the worthy founder of the first scholarship at Harvard may not be disappointed, but that some means may be found through which a "perpetual stipend" to be known as the Lady Mowlson scholarship will pass from "one poore scholar to another" and thus preserve the memory of Lady Mowlson.

¹ H. C. Records.

ROGER WILLIAMS, FREEMAN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY REUBEN A. GUILD.

KNOWLES in his "Memoir of Roger Williams the Founder of the State of Rhode Island," states that he took the usual oath on his admission as a Freeman of the "Massachusetts Bay," May 18, 1631, referring for authority to Prince's Annals of New England. This author, under date of October 19, 1630, when the "General Court of the Massachusetts Colony met at Boston," gives a list of persons who desired to be made Freemen, including "Roger Williams, a minister, who went 1. to Plymouth. 2. to Salem. 3. to Providence." This however was nearly four months before his arrival in America. The difficulty is explained by adding that the October list comprehended "all those who entered their desires between that time and May 18." Whereupon Prof. Knowles remarks, "that Mr. Williams, with characteristic decision, entered his name on the list very soon after his arrival." This assertion has been repeated by the biographers of Williams, from Knowles down to the present day. The simple fact is, as Dr. Dexter and the lamented Prof. Diman have clearly shown, the Founder of Rhode Island was never admitted as a Freeman of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, although he owned a house and lands in Salem. Who then was the Roger Williams whom Prince records in his "Annals"? The Rev. William Urwick, pastor of the Congregational Church in St. Albans, England, and author of a valuable work recently published, entitled, "Nonconformity in Herts, being Lectures upon the Nonconforming Worthies of St. Albans, and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in all the Parishes of the

County of Hertford," in a letter to me dated "Belsize Park Gardens, Hampstead, December 1, 1886," states that he finds in the old St. Albans Parish Register, the following entry under the head of Baptisms:—"Roger, son of Mr. Lewis Williams. 3 die, August, 1607." "It now remains," the writer adds, "to hunt up the will of Mr. Lewis Williams. . . . The fact of his being styled *Mr.* in the Register, shows that he was a man of respectability and mark, because, in the run of names in the Register *Mr.* does not occur. . . . His name does not appear, nor does that of his son Roger, either among marriages or deaths." If this Roger eventually came to America, as it now seems probable, his name would not be likely to appear in any parish registry.

Mr. Harry Wright, in behalf of the Rev. Canon Elwyn, Master of the Charterhouse, formerly called "Sutton's Hospital," in a letter to my friend W. H. Overall, Librarian of Guildhall, dated "Charterhouse, E. C., 15 April, 1886," thus writes: "The only information contained in our books respecting Roger Williams is, that he was elected a scholar 25th June, 1621, and ordered to be sent to the University, being a good scholar, on the 9th of July, 1624."

This could not apply to the Roger Williams of Rhode Island, although Elton so claims, and Arnold and other writers, including myself, repeat the story. The Rev. Dr. Dexter, in his interesting monograph "As to Roger Williams," singularly enough begins by saying: "All that can be positively *proved* concerning his early life is that, when a youth, he attracted the attention of Sir Edward Coke, and, on his influence, was elected a scholar of Sutton's Hospital, now the Charterhouse, 25 June, 1621; that he obtained an exhibition there 9 July, 1624; and that he was matriculated a Pensioner of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 7 July, 1625." The first and last of these statements are indeed true. He did attract when a youth the favorable notice of Sir Edward Coke, and he was

eventually matriculated a Pensioner of Pembroke College ; but the records of Charterhouse as here given, refer to quite a different person.

The Charterhouse, it is well known, comprises a "Hospital" for the support of eighty "Pensioners," so called, all upwards of fifty years of age when admitted ; a "Chapel" ; and a "School," the main feature of which originally was forty "Foundation Scholars," none of whom were admitted under the age of ten years nor above the age of fourteen. They were generally the sons of gentlemen with large families and moderate fortunes, to whom an academic education was an object. They were received after examination, and upon the nomination of the governors, of whom there were sixteen. Mr. Sutton, the founder, died on the 12th of December, 1611. Shortly after his death his nephew and heir-at-law, instigated by Sir Francis Bacon, Coke's life-long rival and enemy, instituted proceedings to set aside his uncle's grant, and to divert his immense estates to uses never contemplated by the donor. These attempts were strenuously resisted by the sixteen governors, who were all prelates, noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, at the head of whom was Chief Justice Coke. The result was that Coke was enabled to certify that the founder's incorporation was sufficient, good and effectual in law. The governors held their first meeting on the 30th June, 1613, and proceeded to make various regulations, and to assign apartments within the institution for the different officers. The following year Nicholas Grey, a man "eminent for his learning in the Greek and Latin languages," was appointed "Master of the School," and the work of instruction began. It was about this time, so the tradition reads, "that Sir Edward, one day observing a youth at Church taking notes of the Sermon, and the people crowding, beckoned to him to come to his pew ; and seeing how judiciously he minuted down the striking sentiments of the preacher, was so pleased that he entreated the

parents to let him have the lad," with the intent, without doubt, of placing him at the school in which he was so deeply interested. He certainly did not need to adopt the lad, for he already had twelve children of his own; nor did he need to bestow pecuniary assistance, for the parents of the lad were in affluent circumstances, and moreover the Chief Justice was noted at this time for being penurious and extravagantly fond of riches. So at least his biographer, Lord Campbell, states. Mrs. Sadlier, in her correspondence now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, thus writes: "This Roger Williams when he was a youth, would in a short-hand take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber, and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such a liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital, and he was the second that was placed there." If he was born at "Roseworthy Manor," Cornwall, England, on the 21 December, 1602, as there is abundant evidence to prove, he was now in his twelfth year. He was placed at the school in 1614 as an ordinary pupil, without doubt. Had he been received as a "Foundation Scholar," the Charterhouse records would indicate it. The only name of Roger Williams entered upon the records is the one to whom reference has already been made, who was elected a Foundation Scholar on the 25th June, 1621. If this refers to the Roger Williams of St. Albans, who was baptized August 3, 1607, he would be at the time of his election thirteen years, eleven months and eighteen days old, dating from his baptism. The record adds that he was ordered to be sent to the University being a good scholar on the 9th July, 1624, when the founder of Rhode Island had just completed his first year at Pembroke College. He probably entered either the University at Oxford or Cambridge, in the month of October following, at the beginning of the first or Michaelmas term; and if he was graduated Bachelor of Arts, it must have been four years later, that is in 1628. The founder of Rhode Island,

on the contrary, entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, as the records show, at the beginning of the second, or Lent term, in January, 1624; and he was graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1627.

A note from Mr. Wright, dated "Charterhouse, E. C., June 26, 1886," reads as follows:

"REUBEN A. GUILD, Esq.

DEAR SIR:

Re Roger Williams.

The following is an extract of what I have accidentally discovered on our books under date 1629. (New style 1630.)

'Roger Williams, who hath Exhibition, and so for about five years past, hath forsaken the University and is become a discontinuer of his studies there. His Exhibition was therefore suspended.'

Yours faithfully,

HARRY WRIGHT.

For the Master."

It thus clearly appears, from the Charterhouse records, that the only Roger Williams of this early period whose name appears upon the books as a Foundation Scholar was sent to the University in July, 1624, having what is termed an Exhibition, equivalent to eighty pounds or four hundred dollars a year, and that after five years, or in the summer of 1629, this Exhibition was suspended, the recipient having become, in the quaint language of the records, "a discontinuer of his studies." The founder of Rhode Island, on the contrary, had no Exhibition. He entered college as a Pensioner, or gentleman's son, and he paid his own bills, so the Registrar, the Rev. Dr. H. R. Luard, writes me under date of September 25, 1886.

But there was a Roger Williams who came over from England in the *Mary and John*, May 30, 1630, who settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, who requested admission as a Freeman on the 19th October, 1630, and who took the oath

as such on the 18th May following. He was a prominent and useful man, and he filled many offices of trust. He served on a jury September 28, 1630, to inquire into the cause of the death of Austin Bratcher; he had charge with another person of the goods of Christopher Ollyver, having been appointed to this trust November 7, 1634; he was one of the arbitrators about the ship *Thunder* in the summer of 1635; and he was one of the Selectmen of Dorchester the same year. In 1636 or 7 he removed to Windsor, Connecticut, and he was there in good repute. Savage states in brief, that he served on a jury in 1642, 3, and 4, and that his wife died on the 10th of December, 1645. In 1647, or the year following, he sold his house and land to Capt. Benj. Newberry and returned to Dorchester. In 1649, or before, he married for his second wife, Lydia, daughter of James Bates. In 1650 he calls himself of Boston, when he sold land in Dorchester to Thomas Thaxter. But little more is told of him. In 1647 he joined the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company."

From all that has now been stated it may I think fairly be inferred, that the Roger Williams of Massachusetts, whose admission as a Freeman has been strangely ascribed to the Founder of Rhode Island, was the son of Mr. Lewis Williams of St. Albans, was a "Foundation Scholar" at the Charterhouse, and a graduate of a college either at Cambridge or at Oxford.

THE ROXBURY LATIN SCHOOL.

[The following note has been received by the Committee of Publication. In reference to the remarks of Mr. Haynes on pages 7 and 8 of this number :—]

I HAVE no doubt that several schools were begun in New England before that in Roxbury, and I did not mean to be understood to say that the Roxbury Latin School was the third institution of learning established in the United States. What I did say, and what I meant, was that this is "the third in age of the institutions of learning in the United States," meaning, of course, existing institutions.

Since Mr. Haynes has called my attention, and yours, to my statement, I must admit that it is inaccurate. I should have said, and do say now, that it is the second in age of the institutions of learning in the United States, allowing the seniority of Harvard College only.

By this, I mean that these institutions, founded in 1638 and 1645, respectively, have preserved their identity as distinct and individual institutions from that day to this, while the Boston Latin School, to which I had inaccurately allowed precedence, and the other schools, of whose early foundation Mr. Haynes has offered ample proof, long ago lost their individuality, ceasing to have, in those cases in which they ever had, a distinct corporate existence, becoming parts of the school systems of the towns in which they were established. The Grammar School in the easterly part of the town of Roxbury, or the Roxbury Latin School, as it is popularly called, never became one of the town schools of Roxbury, but is now, as it has been for two hundred and forty-two years, a distinct and independent insti-

tution of learning, supported by its own funds and managed by its own trustees. If there is another institution of learning of equal or greater age in the United States, except Harvard College, of which that can be said, I do not know where to look for it. It is certainly not the Boston Latin School, or any of the schools of early foundation, to which Mr. Haynes has referred us.

J. EVARTS GREENE.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 25, 1888, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership) : George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Francis Parkman, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, Henry M. Dexter, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Thomas W. Higginson, Edward H. Hall, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Hamilton B. Staples, Edmund M. Barton, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, John J. Bell, George H. Moore, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, Thomas Chase.

The record of the last meeting was read by the Recording Secretary and approved.

The PRESIDENT read a report which had been prepared by him, and adopted by the Council as part of their report.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, submitted his report in print, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read his report.

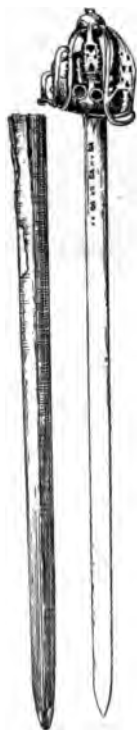
These reports, as together constituting the report of the Council, were, on motion of CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Council having recommended for membership in the Society,

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A.M., of Madison, Wisconsin, and AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester, they were, by separate ballot, elected members.

GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D., read a paper entitled "The Bibliology of American Witchcraft."

HON. HAMILTON B. STAPLES presented to the Society, in behalf of Mr. Thomas L. Winthrop of Boston, the sword of Fitz-John Winthrop. In making the presentation Mr. STAPLES said :



WINTHROP SWORD,
WITH SCABBARD.

On the 11th of December last, I received a letter from Mr. Thomas L. Winthrop of Boston, grandson of a former President of the Society, the late Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, in which, through me, a very interesting proposition was made to the Society. I give entire this part of the letter. "Miss Winthrop has much interested me in her account of our family relics in the rooms of the Antiquarian Society, and I have thought it possible that it might be agreeable to the Society to become the depository of yet another which I have held for many years, uncertain where to bestow it. The article in question is a basket-hilted 'Andrea Ferrara,' bearing upon its blade the name and 'punches' of that famous maker and accompanied by the following inscription, in the handwriting of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop: 'Sword of Fitz-John Winthrop, sometime a captain in Monk's army, second in command of the expedition against Canada in 1690, agent for Connecticut in London, 1693-8, and afterward for nine years Gov^r of Connecticut. Born Mch. 14, 1638—died Nov. 27, 1707.

Buried in the Kings Chapel graveyard.' This sword, which is in perfect preservation, I inherited from my father, Grenville Temple Winthrop, who was an older brother of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, and son of that namesake of my own, who presented various family relics to the Society, the late Hon^{ble} Thomas Lindall Winthrop. Would you sometime at your leisure ascertain if it would be pleasing to the Society to receive the sword."

I immediately laid the proposition before Mr. SALISBURY, the President of the Society, and was asked by him to inform Mr. Winthrop that if the American Antiquarian Society should become the custodian of the sword, it would be regarded as a trust to be most carefully guarded and that the sword would have a conspicuous place among our most valued relics. I communicated the President's answer to Mr. Winthrop in a letter, first submitted to Mr. SALISBURY for his approval. On March 29, 1888, the sword was forwarded to me accompanied by a letter which clearly explains itself, and should be formally communicated to the Society.

"38 BEACON ST., 28 March, 1888.

MY DEAR JUDGE STAPLES :

Your letter of the 13th February was duly received by me in which you express the willingness of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, on behalf of the American Antiquarian Society, to become the trustee of the sword of Governor Fitz-John Winthrop and to give it a suitable place in the hall of the Society. The acceptance of the trust by the American Antiquarian Society is a high compliment to my family, and assists in confirming my opinion that the sword, although borne by a distinguished Governor of Connecticut, has at least equal claims to interest in the State with which my family was first and most intimately identified. Upon quite different grounds the sword claims the attention of the antiquary of every State and Country, from its being a blade of the most famous sword-maker of the Renaissance, whose name and punches are to be found

upon it. Allow me to thank you for your kind trouble taken in this matter, and believe me, my dear Judge Staples, yours very truly,

THOMAS L. WINTHROP."

In presenting the sword to the Society at this time, I comply with the request of the President in giving a somewhat more extended sketch of the wearer of the sword, and of the sword itself. Fitz-John Winthrop was the son of John Winthrop, the first Governor of Connecticut under the charter, and grandson of John Winthrop, the first Governor of Massachusetts. His father, born at Groton, England, in 1605, educated at the University of Dublin, was a fine scholar and an eminent physician. He died in Boston, April 5, 1676.

Fitz-John Winthrop was born at Ipswich, March 14, 1638. Before attaining his majority he went to England to seek service in the civil war. The time of his arrival there is indicated by a letter from his uncle, Emanuel Downing, at Edinburgh, dated 2d February, 1657, congratulating him upon his safe arrival, and also by a letter from his uncle, Colonel Thomas Reade, Governor of Stirling Castle, dated February 15, 1657, in which young Winthrop is advised to remain in Scotland, and assured of the willingness of Colonel Reade to assist him in obtaining military preferment. The promise was soon fulfilled. In a letter dated December 8, 1658, he is addressed as "Lt: Winthroe at Sterling." In the following February he was at Cardross as Governor of the castle with the same title. In 1660 he was a captain in Colonel Reade's regiment. That he was with General Monk in London shortly before the Restoration is shown by his letter to his brother Wait Winthrop, afterwards Chief Justice, from London, dated May 8, 1660. Returning to New England, at or near the end of 1661, he identified himself with the Connecticut colony, became a representative, served in King Philip's War as Major, and for a time was a member of the Council

of Sir Edmund Andros. In May, 1689, he was chosen one of the magistrates. In 1690 he was appointed Major-General of the land forces in the expedition against Canada. The scheme on the part of New York and the New England colonies was to attack Montreal with nearly a thousand men, assisted by five or six hundred Indians of the Five Nations, who had promised their co-operation; while a fleet and an army of about two thousand men under command of Sir William Phipps, Governor of Massachusetts, were to proceed up the St. Lawrence and attack Quebec. It was supposed that the result of the combined attack would be the capture of one or both of these strongholds. Captain Leisler had then assumed the government at Albany, and Milborn, his son-in-law, was appointed Commissary. It had been agreed that New York should furnish a certain number of troops for the expedition, also the provisions and means of transportation for the army. The fleet sailed for Quebec with thirty or forty vessels, but did not arrive till October 5, a much later time than was anticipated. When Winthrop's army had arrived at Wood Creek, the place appointed for meeting the Indians, less than a hundred Indians were present, the rest refusing or evading the requisition, and the New York contingent had not appeared. The army continued to advance a hundred miles further to the lake where means of transportation were required. The Commissary had failed to provide the requisite means or a supply of provisions for the army. After a council of war, a retreat to Albany became necessary for the subsistence of the army. This retreat and the late arrival of the fleet defeated the expedition. General Winthrop returned to Connecticut after serious difficulties with the Governor at Albany, the latter betraying a purpose to fix upon another the responsibility for the retreat, which clearly attached to him or his subordinate.

The General Assembly voted that the conduct of General Winthrop "had been with good fidelity to his Majesty's

interest," and thanked him "for his good services." In 1692 Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, had received a commission from the King vesting him with full power to command the entire militia of Connecticut and of the neighboring provinces. As the right to command the militia was expressly given to the colony by the charter, the Legislature refused to submit to the regulation. At this time occurred the amusing episode of Captain Wadsworth preventing by the noise of drums the reading of Fletcher's commission before the train bands of Hartford. In 1693 the Assembly petitioned King William the Third on the subject, and appointed General Winthrop as their agent to present the petition to the King and use his best efforts to maintain the chartered rights of the Colony. This was rightly regarded as a vital question upon which the right of local government depended. So ably and yet so wisely did General Winthrop perform the duty assigned him that on April 19, 1694, the King decided the question in favor of the Colony. Trumbull's History relates that in January, 1698, Major-General Fitz-John Winthrop, having returned from his successful agency at the Court of Great Britain, was received with great enthusiasm and was thanked by the Legislature for "his public services." In May, 1698, he was chosen Governor, an office which he continued to fill till his death, November 27, 1707. Trumbull speaks of him as one in whose death the Colony "sustained a great loss." He had long resided at New London, where he had a very large estate, and displayed great hospitality, in marked contrast with his narrow circumstances at the close of his military life in England. Governor Winthrop rendered a great service in advance to the cause of the American Revolution. Organized resistance to the British Crown would have proved well nigh impossible in 1775 and 1776, if the colonies had not commanded the militia agreeably to the precedent of 1694.

Coming now to the sword itself, it is largely a matter of inference where it has been and in what scenes it has borne

a part. It is, however, almost certain that it was obtained and worn by Winthrop when an officer in Monk's army. The Ferara blades were at that time in general use in the Army of the Commonwealth. There is the authority of an article in Macmillan's Magazine on the "Form and History of the Sword" for the statement that Cromwell wore this kind of sword. In the frontispiece to the *Leviathan*, published in 1650, in the right hand of the mystical figure representing the might of the State, a Ferara sword is held, but without the basket-hilt. In the article upon the "Sword" in the new *Encyclopedia Britannica* the well known name of Ferara is said to be peculiarly associated with Scottish blades. This sword was the natural weapon for an officer of Monk's army to possess. It is not at all likely that it was procured for the expedition to Canada in 1690, as at that time this kind of sword was passing out of use. The sword was probably worn in the march of Monk's army from Scotland to London, which resulted in the Restoration. It may have been drawn from its scabbard to salute Charles the Second, as in his triumphal progress from Dover to London he passed through the army at Blackheath.

The history of the sword considered as a work of art brings us to a controversy which has engaged the attention of the antiquary for more than half a century. The sword has doubtless existed in a variety of forms. The curved guards, known as *pas d'ane*, the cross-pieces in the plane of the blade called *guillons*, were the simple elements from which was evolved the basket-hilt, elaborate in form and design. Three views have been advanced as to the origin of this celebrated weapon and the age and country of Andrea Ferara. One view is, that he visited Scotland and manufactured his blades there for Scottish use. This theory derived its support from the number of Ferara blades extant in that kingdom early in the reign of James the Sixth. I find several allusions to this sword in the *Waverley* novels, which imply a use so familiar as to have

given rise to a species of metonymy in the common dialect of the people. In the *Fortunes of Nigel*, Richie threatens "the swaggering billies" with "a slash of my Andrew Ferara." In the same novel Lord Dalgarno tells his father that "more land is won by the lawyer with the ram skin than by the Andrew Ferara with his sheep's-head handle." In the *Bride of Lammermoor*, the sexton in describing the battle of Bothwell Bridge, in 1679, says, "there was auld Ravenswood brandishing his Andrew Ferrara at the head." In *Woodstock*, Wildrake pictures himself as saying to Alice Lee in behalf of his friend Colonel Everard, "give him a good Toledo by his side with a broidered belt and an inlaid hilt, instead of the ton of iron contained in that basket-hilted, black Andrew Ferrara." The last quotation throws some light on the character of the weapon worn by the officers of the Army of the Commonwealth. This theory of a Scottish origin conceived of the name Ferara¹ not as a family name, but as derived from the Latin *Ferrarius*, pertaining to iron, and as denoting the name of a guild of armourers. So that the name *Andrea dei Ferari* as applied to the celebrated sword-maker should be translated, not as Andrew of the Feraras, but as Andrew of the Forge,—one of a guild of armourers in the records of the Scotch burghs under the title of *Hammermen*. Sir Walter Scott in the *Notes to Waverley* appears to favor this view. "Who this artist was, what were his fortunes, and when he flourished, have hitherto defied the research of antiquaries; only it is in general believed that *Andrea de Ferrara* was a Spanish or Italian artificer brought over by James the IV. or V. to instruct the Scots in the manufacture of sword-blades."

¹The name is not uniformly spelled. In Meyrick's "*Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*," second ed., p. 6, is a long note in which the family name is spelled, "*Ferera*," "*Farara*," and "*Ferara*." In a volume of *Illustrations* accompanying this work, by Skelton, at No. CIII., a sword of this workman is displayed inscribed on the blade "*Ferara*." In the citations above, from Scott and others, the spelling is allowed to stand as given by those writers. On the sword now given to the Society the name is spelled FARARA.—COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

The second view attributes to the sword a Spanish origin. In the north of Spain, in the Corunna district, is the town of Fereira. And the claim is that this was the seat of the celebrated manufacture. In the infancy of metallurgical science it was believed that sword-blades acquired the best temper by immersion in mountain streams, and the town in question was the only one of this name which answered the supposed condition.

The third view is, that the sword is an Italian weapon. The evidence in its support may be briefly stated. In the new *Encyclopedia Britannica* under the article, the Sword, there is a pictorial representation of typical European swords. That which in every particular corresponds with the sword now to be presented is classified as Italian, late in the sixteenth century.

From the article in Macmillan, already referred to, I quote the following passage: "A still greater reputation was gained by the strong and keen broadswords bearing the name of Andrea Ferara, long a puzzle to antiquaries as to whether he was of Spanish or Italian origin. Evidence exists that sometime after 1580, two brothers, Giovan Donato and Andrea dei Ferari, were well known sword makers working at Bellune in Friuli, the Illyrian territory of Venice." The strongest authority is Cigogna. In the *Trattato Militare, Venetia, 1583*, he confines his enumeration of sword manufacturers "to the most excellent armourers of Italy," to whom he gives the pre-eminence in this art. He further says, that "in the town of Bellune are the ingenious masters, Giovan Donato and Andrea of the Ferraras, both brothers." It is further stated that there were others of the same name, sword makers in that country, as shown by dei Ferrari, of the Ferraras, indicating an established family originating in the ducal city of that name. The half-length figures on the blade wear on their heads the crown known as the Eastern or Antique crown, a device which implies an Italian rather than a more Western origin.

Finally the opinion of the accomplished donor of the sword, in part based on family tradition, favoring the Italian view, is entitled to be considered in deciding this question. It seems very clear that the evidence preponderates in favor of the Italian view. It is to be hoped that the possession of the sword by the Society may lead to a more exhaustive study of its origin and mode of manufacture than can now be attempted.

Nothing remains but to present the sword through you, Mr. President, to the Society, and to congratulate it on the acquisition of an additional relic of a family long and most honorably identified with the Society, and of a work of art of interest alike to the historian and the antiquary. The sash of choicest silk, its hues mellowed and enriched by time, is presented with the sword.

The PRESIDENT said : The American Antiquarian Society accepts with satisfaction the trust confided to them by Mr. Thomas L. Winthrop, and is happy to recognize the peculiar fitness of the halls of the Society for a depository of so treasured a relic as the sword worn by the great-great uncle of our former President, the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., said : I am sure that I represent the wish of the whole Society, when I propose a vote of thanks to Colonel Winthrop for the valuable and interesting gift which he makes to the Society. It is indeed grateful to the Society at any time to renew the recollections of the close connections of the honored family of Winthrop with the history of the country, since that history began. We are so fortunate as to possess in our own hall the original portrait of John Winthrop, which has been ascribed to the pencil of Vandyke, as well as that very curious "loving-cup," with its memories of many generations, which has been already alluded to. It is needless to refer to the name of Governor John Winthrop, the first historian of New England, who recorded for us, day by day, the history of the great movement, the whole of which he saw, and of

which he was so large a part. To his son John, the Governor of Connecticut, we owe that body of correspondence, which I think the gentlemen around me would say is the most valuable store-house we have for information on the habits, the events, the social order, and the tone of feeling, of the generations after the first settlement, up to his death. His son, Fitz-John, entered—one almost says, of course—into the service of the country, and served it in such ways as have been traced by Judge STAPLES. John Winthrop, his nephew, in his own selected line of life rendered public services no less important. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and a fellow of the Royal Society. The fondness for science has shown itself, indeed, in all the Winthrops, from the beginning to this hour. The other John Winthrop, who was also a fellow of the Royal Society, and professor in Harvard College, was the friend and correspondent of Franklin. In the study of the Franklin correspondence lately, I have been greatly interested in seeing how close were his relations with Franklin, and how accurate were his observations in natural science. The dramatic story of the first occultation ever observed of the planet of Venus by young Horrocks in England, has always connected the return of that interesting phenomenon with his name. It is not, perhaps, so generally remembered that to Professor John Winthrop, above referred to, the world of science owes the second observation of that transit, which was made by Winthrop successfully, with a party from Harvard College whom he took to Newfoundland for that purpose. To our President, for many successive years Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, in those good days when Massachusetts kept a good officer when she had found him, this Society owes much. It still possesses, as memorials of such obligation, the interesting objects which have been alluded to. We may add that we owe to him, as well, his share of our gratitude for the distinguished services of his son, who has served the State in a thousand ways, and who was so long

the honored President of our sister society. Colonel Winthrop now renews all these remembrances by this gift of a sword which had been used in the service of the short-lived Commonwealth of England, and was destined to be used in the service of those other Commonwealths of New England, which have so long survived their mother. A sword which hung at its owner's side when he asserted that essential principle of New England history,—that the armies of New England are to be directed by the Governors of New England, and not by the English crown,—is certainly one of the most interesting memorials of that history. The Society is glad to associate it with the memory of the Governor who founded Massachusetts, of the two Governors who maintained in Connecticut the liberties and privileges which Connecticut had received at her birth, of the men of science and of letters who have done so much for the nobler life, not of New England only, but of America, and of these distinguished gentlemen who still live, to leave to those who come after us new reasons for honoring the name of Winthrop. I move that the thanks of the Society be presented to Colonel Winthrop for his priceless gift.

The motion of Dr. HALE was unanimously adopted.

GEORGE E. FRANCIS, M.D., read a paper on the uses of photography in illustration of, and as an aid to, local history.

On motion of SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., the suggestions contained in Dr. FRANCIS's paper were referred to the Council for consideration.

ROBERT N. TOPPAN, Esq., read a paper, suggested by recent discoveries, on the general subject of monetary standards and metallic currency.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS, Esq., submitted, without reading, a communication relating to the historical Dunster-Glover controversy at law. The paper was suggested by a single scrap containing some memoranda regarding the publications from the Cambridge press.

Rev. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, D.D., referred to a curious inci-


dent connected with the Dunster-Glover controversy, differing from anything he had ever noticed in a case at law.

Rev. Dr. HALE called the attention of the Society to the fact that we may expect before many weeks the arrival of several car loads of valuable relics found in Arizona by the Hemenway expedition. Mrs. Hemenway has, at her own expense, conducted the expedition and erected a fire-proof building in Salem for the preservation of the relics. He wished she might, if possible, be made a member of the Society, as she has done more for archaeological research than any other one person in our vicinity. His present object, however, was not to make a motion, but simply to draw the attention of the Society to the general subject.

HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M., asked a moment's time to inquire if any member of the Society could tell who John Charmion was. He stated that the Massachusetts Historical Society had lately obtained a broadside containing a poem in Latin with an English translation on the death of Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, signed by John Charmion.

A paper was laid before the Society which had been prepared by Mr. John N. Merriam, on the subject of the Ordinance of 1787. It was sent to the meeting by Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, who recommended its reference to the Committee of Publication, and it was so referred. With reference to the authority of the Congress to pass this Ordinance, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., remarked that he believed that it was the better opinion that the Congress in so doing exceeded its powers. Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., spoke somewhat more fully on the same subject, and the Society voted that he be requested to furnish his views in writing for the Committee of Publication.

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE called the attention of the Society to a series of photographs made and presented by our associate, Mr. EDWARD H. THOMPSON, of Mérida, Yucatan. The views were from the ruins of Kich-Moo and Chun-Kat-Jin, which were discovered by Mr. THOMPSON within the



last year. Letters descriptive of the ruins written to President SALISBURY were also presented, from which the following extracts are made.

Speaking of the ruins of Kich-Moo he says :

“These ruins are about seven and a half leagues to the south and west of the ancient and now almost deserted village of Xul. Making as I did so many turns back and forward, right and left, as the mountain side permitted, I am not able to give with precision the distance or direction travelled. That portion of the work can easily be done later on. The principal object, the discovery of the ruins themselves, having been accomplished, the rest will come in due course. I also found upon the same trip a place where the ancients evidently made their flint implements, there being a large number of handsome flints, and chips in abundance.

The road that I made two years ago to Labná has been cleared and widened by the people of Tabi, under instructions from Don Antonio Fajardo, in order to haul the logs of precious woods that grow thereabouts, and it is now possible to go almost to the ruins of Labná in a volan, a decided change from my first visit, when I had to have two macheteros go before in order to clear a passage for my pack mules.

Before we left Merida I had determined that the gentlemen¹ with me should see the cenote of (Flol-Tun or Ol-tun) Tabi. Accordingly I wrote to Señor Fajardo asking him to have some Indians, at my expense, open a good path to this cenote, a league and a half from the hacienda. This he very kindly did, and the next morning the whole party, General Baranda and suite, Don David Casares and Don Antonio Fajardo, who himself had never seen the cenote before, and ourselves, took our horses and started for the cave. It was a sight worth seeing and one to be remembered. We entered the cenote by a series of rude ladders made

¹ Upon the trip to Kich-Moo Mr. Thompson was accompanied by the Messrs. Bowditch and Mr. Martin L. Bradford of Boston.

from tree trunks, felled and placed in narrow parallel rows from the top or mouth down to the first level; the rounds of these primitive ladders were cut from the branches of the trees felled and were bound in their places by means of stout vines or 'bejucos.' This cenote has, the Indians say, eleven mouths or openings, and while we entered at one mouth, and stood in the partial obscurity of the cave, before us we saw a second one. This one was quite large, so large that a portion of it was flooded with sunshine from above, and trees, vines, long swinging plants and huge snakelike roots were growing in the rich earth of the cave with almost phenomenal luxuriance. This bright spot, framed in by the huge stalactites, the bright colored flowers and deep green of the leaves, having a back-ground of utter darkness, formed a picture that I can neither paint with a brush, describe with mere words or hope to portray with the camera. One must see it to appreciate its weird and perfect beauty. We spent several hours wandering around in its depths and even then we found only four of its eleven mouths. I saw enough, archæologically speaking, to convince me that within that cave was that which is of sufficient interest to keep me at work for a month or more. Among other things that I did not speak of were certain very handsomely carved inscriptions. Stephens, I believe, intimates that this cave contains nothing of interest, archæologically speaking, but he is mistaken. Could I afford the time, or rather the money, I could furnish interesting results from excavations and moulds made in this cave. As I have before written, each person seems to pronounce the name of this cenote or cave to suit himself. I have no doubt but the true designation was, originally, at least, 'Ulol-tun.' This, in Maya, signifies 'the flowers of stone,' a very neat and poetic name, as the delicate and multiform stalactites and stalagmites undoubtedly conveyed to the natives the idea.

The next morning we made a very early start, and taking

a rapid view of 'Sebatsche' passed on. I tried to give the visitors a good general idea of the ruins of Yucatan and, as their stay was limited and the pathways between the edifices of Chun Kat Jin not yet cut, I took them to the one lying nearest to Labná (and the most interesting one of the group), the two-storied edifice last photographed. The way to the rest of the group is as yet so choked up that, to cut a path sufficient to admit those not used to jungle travel would be a work of hours; consequently we gave up the idea and returned to Tabi quite late that evening.

In 1886, while making a minute investigation of the various lintels I found imbedded in the plaster over the *centre of each doorway* a piece of bone. At first I deemed the successive finding of the bones in this position a mere coincidence. As my investigations progressed I changed my opinion upon the subject; these bones or fragments of bone were placed in that particular position for some special reason in accordance with some idea. I showed the gentlemen some of these bones still in position, and they propose to have the bones analyzed by an anatomist in order to ascertain whether they were of the human body or otherwise. I have certain reasons for believing that the bones *are* of the human frame."

On the expedition to the Chun Kat Jin Mr. THOMPSON was accompanied by Mr. Frederick Godman, a scientist of England. In a letter dated February 19, 1888, Mr. THOMPSON says:

"Passing over the incidents of our journey to the frontier, we first visited Muloot-seca, a little group of ruins lying between San Francisco and Sebatsché that I discovered in 1886. We then visited the ruins of Sebatsché and afterwards Labná and Chun Kat Jin. He (Mr. Godman) was particularly pleased with the two-storied edifice at Chun Kat Jin that I mentioned in my last letter. This edifice is a standing monument of the careless unreliability of the average Indian in matters of this kind. I speak of this build-

ing as being one of my latest discoveries in the Chun Kat in group, whereas in reality it was my earliest. In 1886, while on my way searching for the ruins of this group, I passed directly beneath the mound and rear walls of the above edifice, which was almost completely hidden beneath the dense growth. I penetrated a short distance up the mound and saw some walls and started to examine them, as I was particularly struck by the appearance of some huge pillars that had evidently fallen from the edifice to the base of the mound below, when the Indian with me said that they were but old destroyed walls of no interest and that unless haste was made we could not hope to reach the perfect edifice before the sun was low. I then, for the time being, abandoned my idea of investigating the ruined edifice, knowing that at a future time I could do it easily and more thoroughly, being at the time engaged in the search for an edifice described by the Indian as quite perfect and very interesting. Very interesting the edifice certainly was when encountered, but had I continued in my purpose and made a circuit around the 'ancient walls' I should have found the part which I thought to be the partially destroyed façade of an ordinary ruined structure, was in reality but the unimportant rear walls of a large and interesting edifice belonging to the same group as the one I shortly afterward encountered. This year upon my first trip, made to survey the Chun Kat Yin valley, I did not neglect a single mound or ruined structure; consequently I made then the examination and obtained the facts and knowledge that I should have obtained a year earlier had it not been for the stupidity of the Indian with me. I now place but very little dependence upon the Indians as guides to the ruins, new or old. I pin my faith more to a good high tree as an observatory and myself as an observer with a good field glass as an adjunct. I find my best results to be obtained in this way. This building, of which I now send you photographs, lies, as I have said, about half a mile to the south-

east of the edifice first photographed and described by me, but if I stop to describe it now this letter will be too long to read at one sitting; so I will leave it and its interesting terrace, once bordered with a handsome decoration of large stone globes, for a second writing. On leaving Chun Kat Jin we took up our course for the Indian rancho of Santa Rita. It was near this rancho that upon my previous trip I had the pleasure of killing my first tiger, a large and handsome fellow. Close by this rancho lies the ruins of Chun-tich-Mool, which I have already visited and photographed. Had we the time I should have shown Mr. Godman the Chul-tun or subterranean reservoir discovered by me upon my previous trip. Upon the walls of this 'Chul-tun' are figures of stucco in high relief representing frogs in the act of diving and ducks in the act of flying, all done with considerable fidelity to nature. The reservoir is deep, however, and the descent through the narrow well-like mouth by means of a long rope, not only tedious, but a little dangerous, and I deemed it best to pass it by unnoticed, especially as we needed all of our reserve force to conquer the difficulties and hardships that beset our path to the more interesting ruins of Kich-Moo.

I purposely took a different course of travel from my previous one, because it had been very bad and the ruins that I had previously seen I was convinced were not of Kich-Moo. The buildings described by the Indians as being several stories high I did not encounter. I was convinced that by going more to the south and east I should encounter the principal ruins of Kich-Moo. In this, as events proved, I was correct. We did not better ourselves as regards the path or trail, for it was fully as bad as any of my previous experience. We were led between mountains nearly a thousand feet high, as recorded by our instruments. For leagues our only paths were the 'arroyos,' or the dry beds of the torrents that rush down the mountains when the wet season is on. Between the rocks and the

sand all growth was destroyed and we were enabled to pass in places that would otherwise have been impassable. We passed several little Indian pueblos whose names are unknown to the map-makers and whose inhabitants, many of whom had probably never seen a white man before, looked upon us with feelings of curiosity and, perhaps, of dismay. They are there. communities of calabash-makers, utterly beyond the reach of active civilization, and they and their descendants will continue to live as they live now, until the whistle of the locomotive shall rouse them from the torpor of perhaps a blessed ignorance. Hidden in the little fertile savannas between the mountain rifts, living upon the product of their milpah and little banana groves, with water gourds to barter for the cloth with which to clothe themselves and for the powder with which to shoot the abundant deer and great golden turkey, who can tell the number of generations that may pass before they are disturbed by the noise of the outside world!

Before day-break the next morning we were off upon our search, and by lively work upon the part of our macheteros about noon we were in front of an aguador. Here we encountered and killed a handsome tiger-cat, whose skin is now being prepared and will, I hope, if I am allowed to return in safety home, serve in later years to remind me of this expedition. At last a shout from the macheteros reached us, and in a few minutes we were in sight of a group of ruins that were worth all of the hardships that we had undergone to see. The principal building, although not several stories high as reported by the Indians, was a very lofty and imposing structure of two stories. These edifices are by no means common among the ruins of Yucatan, and but few, very few, of those that do exist approach in interest the one found at Kich-Moo. The façade of the building has a length over all of two hundred and twenty feet. Like all of this class of structures found in the ruins of Yucatan, the roof of one edifice or story

forms a platform upon which is placed a second story. The platform thus formed is often of considerable extent, furnishing not only foundation for a second story, but also allowing of spacious walks, well paved and sometimes bordered with richly sculptured stones. I am well assured from various evidences that there once existed upon many of these platforms, terraces, hanging gardens and subterranean reservoirs; these last I have found to be common; and, although many writers doubt their having been reservoirs, I am absolutely certain such was the fact. To me the evidences found are too clear to admit of any doubt. The principal portion of the edifice has a length, not including the various angles of the façade, of one hundred and seven feet, and a height from floor of first story to the roof of second of fifty-five feet. The right wing, placed at right angles with the principal structure, is one story high, with a façade facing east by south ninety-five feet long. This façade is elaborately carved and ornamented with figures in stone and stucco. To the left, and seemingly once connected in some manner with the principal edifice, is a building that may have been a left wing. From the comparatively small quantity of cut and worked stone lying between the two edifices I should judge that the connecting structure must have been of less massive nature than the remaining structures; a portal or open gate-way, perhaps. I have not included this structure in the dimensions given above. It is about seventy-five feet long with a façade, quite plain but pleasing, having as its characteristic feature a peculiar undulating line of figures, somewhat resembling rosettes, carved in stone, each of which has a cavity in its centre that probably held a delicate piece of carving or painting. A shallow cleft or gutter-like depression divides the façade vertically into two portions, each of which, as I show by the accompanying photograph, has its distinct form of the rosette ornament. This edifice, in connection with the one before mentioned, forms three sides of a hollow square,

opening to the south-east. A broad stairway extends from the court-yard formed by the hollow square in front of the principal portion of the edifice, up to the platform in front of the second story. Upon each side of this gradually widening stairway are elaborately carved and sculptured terraces. The whole edifice forms an imposing spectacle, grand even in its ruin. To the south and east are other edifices, smaller but still interesting. One of these is especially noteworthy from the peculiar character of its cabalistic symbols and the almost perfect state in which I found them. In all of my expeditions among the ruins of Yucatan I have never encountered a façade with the stucco work upon it in such a perfect state as upon this small edifice at Kich-Moo. Serpent symbols, hieroglyphics, pillars, squares and a peculiar pyramidal arrangement of three balls or globes were all combined in such a manner as to leave no doubt in my mind that, had we the lore of the 'ancient ones,' the uses and purposes of the building would by them be rendered as clear as daylight. With only the knowledge of to-day it is but effort lost to speculate or theorize upon the facts presented or ideas indicated. The forms of the facts exist but the ideas are lost, and I believe irretrievably lost. It was a great sorrow to me that I was obliged to leave this edifice without taking a photograph of it. My long-suffering apparatus refused to work. Too many tumbles on the mountain slopes with a pack mule atop had conquered even its unyielding sides. It was only with great difficulty and the exercise of considerable ingenuity that I succeeded in taking a single photograph of Kich-Moo. Had there not been the extreme necessity and desire, on my part, to record the discovery and existence of these ruins in this manner, I doubt if I should have accomplished the photography of the principal edifice. And when the failure did come it was complete. I reluctantly packed up my dilapidated apparatus for the last time with great misgivings as to the success of the negatives exposed. My

fears were, for the most part, without foundation, as the accompanying photographs will prove."

Professor HAYNES moved that all the papers which had been read or presented be referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Recording Secretary, in seconding the motion, said that he was the more happy in doing so because Professor HAYNES had wisely omitted the customary clause of thanks in behalf of the Society. The voting of thanks in such cases had always seemed to him a somewhat perfunctory thing, and he hoped the simple form Professor HAYNES had adopted in making his motion might pass into a precedent.

The motion was then adopted, and the meeting dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.



REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society desire to make their one hundred and fifty-first semi-annual report. As was suggested at the annual meeting a departure from established custom has been made in the form of arrangement of the last report of the Council, by which the topic selected for special consideration in the report is kept distinctly apart from business relating exclusively to the Society. This change, made by the Committee of Publication, it is hoped will be acceptable, as it will facilitate reference to many interesting subjects, which were in danger of being buried, together with the title of the essay treated, in miscellaneous matter of the report. It is possible, also, that the same Committee may think best to print the biographical notices so separated from other text as to render their consultation more easy. The report of our Treasurer, Mr. Nathaniel Paine, gives us a very satisfactory statement of the condition of our funds, and shows us how much we are indebted to his skilful and unremitting oversight for the present safe and abiding character of our investments. In the biographical notice of our associate, the late Hon. Francis H. Dewey, LL.D., we have informed the Society of a very liberal provision made for the purchase of the biographies and the miscellaneous writings of distinguished judges and lawyers, by the gift of two thousand dollars, the income of which is to be applied to this object. When the time arrives for the payment of this bequest the Council will take appropriate official action and will report it to the Society.

The report of the Librarian, Mr. Barton, gives a detailed account of the present condition of our collections and the accessions of the past six months. It will be noticed that we have received in that time one thousand two hundred and

seventy-five bound books, three thousand nine hundred and thirty pamphlets, and seventy-seven bound and one hundred and sixty unbound volumes of newspapers. These gifts have been received from forty members, from one hundred and two persons non-members and from seventy-six societies and institutions, making in all two hundred and eighteen sources of accession. This is a little more than an average semi-annual increase of our library. The use of our collections by scholars and students continues to grow, and the large number of gifts from others than members shows conclusively that the opportunity freely afforded for consultation is appreciated and gratefully recognized. It will be necessary for the Committee on the Library at once to provide more shelves in the lower room for the storage of such books as can be removed from the upper halls, and thus afford an opportunity for the better arrangement of the classified collections they contain.

The reports of the Treasurer and of the Librarian, which form a part of the report of the Council, are herewith submitted.

The Council are in receipt of a biography of Señor Dr. Gumesindo Mendoza, a foreign member of the Society, whose death was mentioned in the report of the Council, April 28, 1886. It was prepared at the request of our Librarian by Dr. Manuel Villada, Professor of Geology and Paleontology, in the Museo Nacional de México, and at the personal solicitation of Professor F. Ferrari Pery, of the Military College at Tacubaya, and it is the first and only notice we have seen.

Three of our associates have died since the October meeting, namely, James Carson Brevoort, Francis Henshaw Dewey and Ferdinand Vandever Hayden.

Señor Dr. Gumesindo Mendoza was born of humble parentage in the town of Aculco, district of Jilotepec, Mexico, in the year 1829. He was educated by a priest,

acquiring in this way an extensive knowledge of the Latin language. He studied philosophy with much success in the Literary Institute of Toluca, and he afterwards pursued the study of pharmacy in the Medical School of Mexico, obtaining a degree as Professor in 1860; and entering the Medical Academy in 1864 he there pursued with ardor the study of the natural sciences, taking botany as a specialty. Acquiring a very exact knowledge of the native flora of Mexico from frequent botanical excursions, he published various articles upon botanical subjects, upon the analysis of Mexican mineral waters and upon the action of certain drugs and medicines. In 1865 he was made adjunct Professor of Pharmacy in the School of Medicine of Mexico and later became Professor of Analytical Chemistry, resigning only on account of the infirmity which caused his death. He was a member of the Health Council of the city of Mexico, giving valuable aid by his chemical analyses. He was a member of the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadística* and of the *Sociedad Mexicana de Historia Natural*. In 1867 he became Chemical and Technological Professor in the National School of Agriculture and in the *Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios*. Chemistry then became his favorite study, in which he made notable discoveries.

In 1877 Señor Mendoza was made Director of the *Museo Nacional de México*, in which office he continued until the year preceding his death. He founded the periodical entitled *Anales del Museo de México*, which he enriched with his valuable essays, and his unwearying activity found in the study of archæology an extensive field for the exercise of the superior intelligence with which he was endowed. Some of his writings in this line of investigation were "An Aztec Idol of the Chinese Type," "A Bronze Chisel of the Ancient Aztecs," "A Supplement to the Essay of Señor Orozco y Berra on the Teachings of Hieroglyphics," "The Pyramids of Teotihuacan," "*Cosmogonia Azteca*," "Com-

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parative Studies in the Sanscrit and the Nahuatl Languages," "Myths of the Nahuas," and a catalogue of the archaeological and historical collections of the National Museum, in which he was assisted by Señor Dr. Jesus Sanches, the present Director of the Museum. He was a member of many foreign scientific societies, whose publications he understood how to utilize from a practical familiarity with the various languages in which they were written. Señor Mendoza was elected a member of this Society in April, 1881. He died February 6, 1886, after a distressing illness of more than a year.

Hon. James Carson Brevoort, LL.D., was born July 10, 1818, at Bloomingdale, now a part of New York City, and attended school in that city, in Northampton, and afterward in Paris, and later at Baron Fellenberg's school in Hofwyl, Switzerland. He then entered the *Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures* in Paris, and graduated as civil engineer. In 1841 he was employed as surveyor in the Northeast Boundary Survey. In 1842, he accompanied Washington Irving, United States Minister to Spain, as private secretary and attaché of the legation, and made an extensive tour through Europe after the expiration of this appointment.

In 1845 Mr. Brevoort married Elizabeth Dorothea Lefferts, only child of Hon. Leffert Lefferts of Bedford, now a part of Brooklyn, and made Brooklyn his home, where he became actively engaged in whatever concerned the welfare of that city. His only child, Henry Leffert Brevoort, survives him. In 1847 he was a member of the Charter Convention, and for several years he served on the Board of Education. From 1856 to 1862 he was Secretary of the Board of Water Commission. In 1863 he took an active part in the formation of the Long Island Historical Society, was its president until 1873, and was constantly concerned in its management until his death. From 1852 to 1878 he

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was a trustee of the Astor Library, serving as superintendent for the last two years of that period.

Mr. Brevoort was a member of many scientific, historical, archæological and literary societies of this country and of Europe. He was a regent of the University of the State of New York, and received the degree of LL.D. from Williams College in 1873.

“His contributions to historical and scientific journals were numerous. In Natural History he was specially interested in Ichthyology, his collections were extensive, and his writings on that subject have high authority. His ‘Notes on some figures of Japanese Fish by artists of the United States Expedition to Japan,’ were published in separate form. Other separate publications were ‘Early Spanish and Portuguese Coinage in America,’ and ‘Verrazano the Navigator, or Notes on Giovanni da Verrazzano and on a Planisphere of 1529, illustrating his American Voyage in 1524.’ His thorough acquaintance with ancient and modern languages opened to him sources of information inaccessible to many, and in his special lines of study, particularly of geographical discovery, of maps, and of general bibliography, his knowledge was extensive and accurate. Students and all others desirous of information found him always willing to impart his knowledge and to open his library to them, his kindly manner giving added value to assistance so freely and unselfishly rendered.”¹

Mr. Brevoort was elected a member of this Society in October, 1868. His gifts to the library have been numerous and valuable. The Librarian’s report for October, 1885, contains this paragraph: “One of the latest, and by far the most valuable acquisition is that from Hon. James Carson Brevoort, LL.D., for nearly twenty years a valued member of this Society. In his letter of presentation, he says, ‘I send you as a gift a number of the early books on

¹“In Memoriam.” Long Island Historical Society, 1888.

Japan, which I have been collecting for more than twenty-five years, thinking that your library is the fittest depository for the nucleus of such a collection.' * * * Beginning with the Venetian titles of 1558, and ending with those of Paris in 1859, we find one hundred and three books printed on thirty-five of the leading presses of the world—including the Cramoisy and the Elzevir—in six different languages; namely, English, French, German, Italian, Latin and Spanish. Of these issues of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there are represented forty-three, forty-three, ten and seven titles, respectively. Two copies of Pagés's *Bibliographie Japonaise, ou Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs au Japon, qui ont été publiés depuis le Cinquième Siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 4to, Paris, 1859, containing Mr. Brevoort's valuable notes, accompany and make a part of this most important donation. We may well be even more grateful for his noble and timely example than for the gift itself." In October, 1887, our Librarian records a gift from the same source of eight more volumes to be added to his Japanese collection, of five volumes for the Davis Spanish-American alcove, and of other books for the general library. Mr. Brevoort died December 7, 1887.

Hon. Francis Henshaw Dewey, LL.D., born in Williamstown, Massachusetts, July 12, 1821, was the son of Hon. Charles A. Dewey and Frances A., daughter of Hon. Samuel Henshaw. The first American ancestor of the family was Thomas Dewey, who came from Kent, England, and settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1634, and our associate, a descendant in the sixth generation, came from a line of distinguished jurists. His grandfather, Hon. Daniel Dewey, was appointed a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts in 1814, and his father, Hon. Charles A. Dewey, appointed in 1837, served as a justice of the same court for nearly thirty years. Francis H. Dewey graduated from Williams College in 1840, and attended both the Yale

and Harvard Law Schools, completing his law studies in the office of Hon. Emory Washburn in Worcester, with whom he entered into partnership in 1843. This partnership was dissolved when Mr. Washburn became associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Mr. Dewey continued his rapidly increasing practice until 1850, from which time Hon. Hartley Williams was his associate in business until 1863. In 1866 Frank P. Goulding, Esq., became Mr. Dewey's partner, and so continued until 1869, when Mr. Dewey was appointed an associate justice of the Superior Court. He resigned his judgeship after twelve years of service, feeling unable to continue the work and at the same time to satisfy the demands of other interests with which he had become connected.

In respect to his character as justice of the Superior Court, the subjoined opinion of one of his associates¹ for years upon that bench is kindly furnished at our request :

"Judge Dewey inherited judicial tastes and capacities. He came to the bench, at a mature age, with these natural qualifications enriched by thorough professional training and varied experiences in both public and business affairs. As a judge he was, therefore, able to guide causes through the labyrinths of the law to wise and just practical results. He was rarely overruled in questions of law ; his judgment upon matters of fact was rarely questioned. With great aptitude for work and unflinching fidelity, he bore his judicial burdens with cheerfulness, and gave to his associates not only the benefit of sound counsel, but the cheer of his genial companionship."

Another writer² says of him :

"Judge Dewey's most noticeable trait, at least to those who did not know him intimately, was his suavity. His temper was never ruffled. In the sharpest of forensic battles he maintained always the same blandly courteous manner. It was of course necessary sometimes to be severe in action and in speech, and when occasion demanded he could make his words sting and wound, but he avoided the necessity, if

¹ Hon. Robert C. Pitman of Newton, Associate Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts.

² J. Evarts Greene, Esq. *Worcester Daily Spy*, December 17, 1887.

he could, and when it could not be evaded the cutting censure was accompanied by an aspect so benign as almost to deprive it of its terrors. * * * A man so quick of apprehension as Judge Dewey must often have been wearied by the tedious prolixity of trials, in which lawyers sometimes vehemently rattle the husks from which all the kernels have been shaken long before. If Judge Dewey felt such weariness he never showed it by his manner. His patience seemed to be inexhaustible. If any of his legal opponents supposed that his amenity of speech or deportment implied facility of temper or lack of tenacity, they soon found their mistake. No man more quickly grasped a fair advantage or held it more tenaciously. As an advocate he was both convincing and persuasive. He seemed to take the jury into his confidence, explaining his client's case to them as if he was sure of their interest and sympathy, as for the most part he had reason to be."

After resigning his position on the bench in 1881, Judge Dewey became the legal adviser of the Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company, of which he had been a director since 1874. His life continued to be one of intense activity and varied interest, and from the moment that he was free from the responsibilities of his position on the bench he showed a remarkable willingness to undertake new, arduous and generally unremunerative duties for which his great natural and acquired gifts eminently fitted him. He was a trustee of Williams College since 1869, in which office he had been preceded by other members of his family, and from that institution he received, in 1873, the honorary degree of LL.D. The President of Williams College, Franklin Carter, LL.D., in a letter to a friend thus speaks of his services:

"Judge Dewey's relations to the College as Trustee were very intimate. By descent and by mental qualities he was fitted for the Trusteeship, and during the many years he held the position he did heroic service for the general progress of the College in many directions. Though he was specially charged with the care of the finances, with investments and the supervision of expenditures, he had such a rugged nerve, such a conservative love of all that

was best in the past, that on the most general question he was judicious and penetrating. His sagacity and persistent adherence to what he believed to be best were of great value in many emergencies. He loved the College and gave it his best, his time, his money and his sons. The present prosperity of the institution he greatly contributed to securing, and never were his counsels more valuable or more influential than during the last two years. He had a sympathy with all human feeling, but guided by his legal training worked for the good of all, not for the advancement of personal interests or cliques. He was broad and loving at the same time; just and tender in the same act. I can not, my dear Sir, overestimate his services or express my sense of his loss. He never omitted a duty that he could perform for the College. He went out of his way to secure any good influence for its advance. His genial humor, his kindly presence were so large a part of the meetings of the board, so large a part of every gathering for the College that he could attend, that no one, after Dr. Hopkins's death, can be missed more widely than he."

He was President of the board of trustees of the Worcester Free Public Library from 1882, President of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, President of the Rural Cemetery Corporation, President of the board of trustees of the Old Men's Home, President of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Williams College, and a trustee of several philanthropic institutions. He was also President of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad and President of the Mechanics Savings Bank. He was also a director of the Mechanics National Bank, and for years was active in the support and management of the affairs of All Saints Parish (Episcopal). Judge Dewey was comparatively inactive in politics, but he had served in both branches of the city government. He was in the State Senate in 1856 and 1869, acting as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in both years.

Judge Dewey was twice married: his first wife was Frances A., daughter of John Clarke, Esq., of Northampton, to whom he was married in 1846. She died in a few years, and in 1853 he married Sarah B., daughter of Hon.

George A. Tufts, of Dudley. They have four surviving children.

Judge Dewey possessed a rare combination of kindness of manner, quick apprehension and sagacity, excellent judgment and uncommon business capacity, and in all the walks of life he was considerate and courteous. He was prompt in his decisions and took a leading part in all important deliberations. He held himself in great control and constantly acted as a peace-maker on occasions of excited controversy. Modest and quiet in his demeanor, he was accessible to all and inspired warm attachment among his associates. He had a great natural love for flowers, and a knowledge of their varieties which he had acquired from personal attention to their cultivation. The Worcester County Horticultural Society has recorded his faithfulness to its interests and to the culture of flowers and fruits during his long connection with it of forty-five years. For the society of children Mr. Dewey always manifested a marked predilection, which increased as he advanced in years, and they responded to his kindly attentions by an intuitive appreciation that was noticeable.

Judge Dewey was elected a member of this Society in October, 1869, and was constant in his attendance and interest at its stated meetings. By his will he provided for a Fund for the purchase of books, declared in the following language: "I give and bequeath to the American Antiquarian Society the sum of two thousand dollars, the same to be invested and the income thereof to be applied to the purchase of the biographies and the miscellaneous writings of distinguished judges and lawyers." Judge Dewey died December 24, 1887, after an illness of only two days duration.

Prof. Ferdinand Vandever Hayden, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D., was born in Westfield, Massachusetts, September 7, 1829. Early in life he went to Ohio and graduated from Oberlin College in 1850. He studied medicine at the

Albany Medical College, and obtained his degree in 1853. At once he was sent by Prof. James Hall, State Geologist, of New York, to visit the Bad Lands of White River, Dakota, to make collections of the cretaceous and tertiary fossils of that region. This was the beginning of his explorations of the West, which continued with little interruption for more than thirty years. The collections he made furnished the data for profitable scientific investigation; and the researches then begun mark the commencement of the geological investigation of the great West. The attention of the officers of the Smithsonian Institution was attracted to Dr. Hayden's labors, and in 1856 he was employed by Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the United States Topographical Engineers to make a report on the regions he had explored. He was appointed the same year geologist on the staff of Lieutenant Warren, who was then engaged in making a reconnoissance of the North-west. In 1859 he was appointed naturalist and surgeon to the expedition for the exploration of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. He continued in this service until 1862. The results of his work in his expeditions to the West were published by the scientific and philosophical societies of Philadelphia, and the earlier collections that he made he divided between the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and that of St. Louis.

Dr. Hayden was appointed acting assistant surgeon of volunteers in 1862, became full surgeon in 1863, and in 1864 he was sent to Winchester, Va., as chief medical officer of the army in the Shenandoah Valley. He resigned in 1865, when he was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel for meritorious services during the war.

He was elected Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Pennsylvania in 1865, a position which he held until 1872, when increasing duties in connection with the geological survey of the territories induced him to resign. From 1867 to 1879 the history of Dr. Hayden is


the history of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories, of which he was the geologist in charge and to the success of which he devoted all his energies during the twelve years of its existence. In this time more than fifty volumes together with numerous maps were issued under his supervision. One of the results of his surveys, and the one in which he took the greatest interest, was the setting aside by Congress of the Yellowstone National Park. The idea of reserving this region as a park or pleasure ground originated with Dr. Hayden, and the law setting it apart was prepared under his direction.

In 1879 Dr. Hayden became geologist on the newly organized United States Geological Survey. He continued these scientific labors until 1886, when he resigned on account of failing health after twenty-eight years of active service as naturalist, surgeon and geologist. To the general interest in science excited by the enthusiastic labors of Dr. Hayden in his geological explorations is due, in a great degree, the existence and continuance of the present United States Geological Survey.

Dr. Hayden was elected a member of this Society in October, 1873. In 1886 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Rochester and by the University of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the National Academy of Sciences and of many other societies throughout the country, and he was honorary and corresponding member of a large number of foreign societies. He was genial in character and sincere and enthusiastic in his desire to forward the cause of science, and a great part of his work for the government and science seems to have been a labor of love. Dr. Hayden died in Philadelphia, December 22, 1887, after an illness of more than a year.

For the Council,

STEPHEN SALISBURY.



EARLY BOOKS AND LIBRARIES.

BY STEPHEN SALISBURY.


CIVILIZATION has received no greater impetus than that given to it by the discoveries of the fifteenth century. Not only was the Western Hemisphere added to the known world, but the art of printing was invented, and in the latter part of the century was born the great leader of the Reformation, an agency most powerful in its influence upon human progress, whose initial movement was to a great degree occasioned by the invention of the printing press and the consequent revival of learning. Without that aid to the diffusion of knowledge and the impulse given to individual thought, it is not at all probable that the system of religious government which actually prevailed, or any which might have been instituted, would have been seriously menaced, still less powerfully interfered with and reformed. Although nothing new may appear in treating, somewhat at length, the gradual steps in the evolution of the printed book, from the early hieroglyphic sign scratched upon stone, bark or papyrus, still it may not be useless to repeat facts known to all, but infrequently considered.

Man in different parts of the world has shown a remarkable coincidence in practical phases of development from savagery into civilization, when called to devise a means of intercommunication by written or spoken language or to organize for social purposes, for protection, or in most of the lines of intellectual growth. So that it is by no means surprising when the investigator of to-day shows us that a new luxurious appliance is a crude approach to something that was better understood in an Egyptian civilization of


two thousand years ago, or in some later community, the record of whose existence perhaps remains only in the crumbling ruins which cover the surface of the soil, and whose advancement in the arts is shown solely by the elaborate and curious articles found in the excavations made in its neighborhood.

Of the early history of India and China we as yet know comparatively little, but that little teaches us to believe that cotton weaving, sculpture and engraving were brought to much perfection in prehistoric times, and that in China the art of printing with movable types was practised long before it became known in Europe.

Until a short time before the historic era the art of writing was unknown in Europe, even in its rudest and most elementary forms. All moral and religious maxims, as well as traditional history, were preserved by a sacerdotal order, which transmitted them orally to their successors. By this means a great multitude of facts were handed down from generation to generation, by a body of men who became very capable in this direction. When writing was invented the labors of these memorizers did not suddenly cease, even when codes of religious and moral laws had been transcribed. The oldest of moral and religious codes known to us, the Sanskrit Vedas, was probably orally preserved and transmitted for generations, as we learn that twelve years of study was necessary for inferior Sanskrit priests and forty years for those of the higher grades. It is believed that the poems of Homer were thus handed down for two or three centuries by professional bards and reciters of Greece, and the genuine portions of Ossian are known to have been preserved until a very recent period in the north of Scotland by oral tradition. It is possible that the arrangement of the sentence or theme into measured phrases having a balance of completeness, had its origin in an effort to aid the memory, and it is probable that the subsequent poetic metres of Greece and Rome were the result of such



efforts. Writing did not come at once into existence in its perfected state. It was the growth of centuries, like the culture of the memory. Egyptian writing, the parent of our own system, bears traces of the pictorial as well as of the phonetic principle. In Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, and in the Turkish and Chinese characters of to-day, we find a complicated series of pictures which have been changed and modified to secure convenience and despatch. It is said to be possible to follow the changes of form from the more correct pictorial representations through successive periods, until the letters assumed the present conventional character. At first, records that were kept were inscribed on the walls of palaces, temples, pyramids and obelisks. The vast number of these inscriptions and the want of space for more rendered some other form of preservation imperative. Records of victories and royal expeditions were carved upon rocks near the localities where they took place. The art of committing writing and inscriptions to small slabs of clay was discovered and practised in the Assyrian Empire, and notifications and proclamations were thus circulated. Lately we have seen samples of Babylonian books, which were secured by the late Catharine L. Wolfe expedition. They are little clay tablets inscribed on both sides in cuneiform characters and are commonly known as contract tablets, which contain the records of important social transactions, such as law suits, marriage settlements, etc., and they are now found stored in record chambers. Rock inscriptions were known to the Assyrians as *speaking stones*, and to the Greeks as *hieroglyphics*. The Egyptians discovered the use of papyrus, as a material upon which writings might be preserved, and cultivated the rush-like plant of which it is the fibre, to enable them to furnish the great quantity required for home use, and to supply the demand from neighboring countries. The Assyrians came near to the invention of printing, in the use of engraved seals from which any number of impressions might be taken.



Layard found such impressions in baked clay from seals, which appeared to be royal orders, so that duplicates might be furnished to officers of the government, a near approach to the system from which block books were made. Greek learning received great assistance from the use of the finely prepared papyrus of Egypt, and of the inner bark of lime trees. Still manuscript writings remained very expensive, and the active circulation of ideas was impossible. In the year 453 of Rome, the Pontifex Maximus established yearly records, which were written on white tablets and were placed in a room in his house accessible to the public. Cæsar, in 694, caused the proceedings of the Senate to be made public daily. Books in the time of Augustus existed only in the form of scrolls, and from the scarcity of writing material palimpsests, or a second use of the same sheet after erasure of the first written matter, became common. The scrolls had rollers of wood or ivory affixed at either end. So rare and expensive were these scrolls that popular authors were read aloud at the baths and porticos. The first booksellers at Rome were the dealers in second-hand wares of all sorts, the buyers of manuscripts when forced on the market by the necessity of their owners. Families of wealth had slaves whose business it was to read aloud and to transcribe, and they were the book-makers of that period. Libraries of the time, as we may learn from Herculaneum, were but small collections. At Rome, books first took the square form in imitation of the tablets, and they were arranged in this form in blank for private memoranda, the pages of which were at first plates of metal coated with wax, within a cover more or less richly decorated and protected by raised edges, so that inscriptions written on the wax would not touch when the covers were closed. Afterwards five or six leaves of vellum took the place of wax tablets. These tablets with richly carved ivory covers were presented to consuls and other official dignitaries on their election to office, and served as their official badge.

The square form of books was probably adopted because of its convenience, and as affording a better opportunity for ornamentation. It is traced to the IV. century B. C. The early Christians caused the Bible to be copied and illuminated by the priests themselves, in the monasteries which rapidly arose, and the work of transcribing manuscripts was carried on with much regularity, and as the books were required for use in the churches much care was taken with the writing and embellishments. Some of the monasteries supplied other institutions and churches with religious books, and became at the same time the repositories of ancient manuscripts, often preserved only for the beauty of the caligraphy. From the V. to the XII. centuries luxurious churchmen were almost the only possessors of books, for they monopolized existing intellectual civilization, and the books they produced were chiefly intended for the services of the church.

Having thus far indicated very briefly some of the steps in the progress from pictorial rock inscriptions to the written books of the XIV. century, we now come to consider the discovery of printing, or the method by which written books may be reproduced at will and indefinitely multiplied. In the art as ultimately perfected, wood engraving plays a most important part. The Chinese are thought to have been the first who perfected the art of wood engraving to the degree of cutting designs upon blocks which might be transferred to woven fabrics in colored patterns. Wood carving in relief or in the round has been generally practised in all countries and by many savage tribes, but etching or engraving has been found only as the outgrowth of civilization and very considerable advancement in the arts. It is thought that printing written texts from engraved tablets was first practised by the Chinese. Dr. Isaiah Thomas in his "History of Printing"¹ says :

¹The History of Printing in America. By Isaiah Thomas. Worcester : Isaiah Thomas, Jun. 1810. 8vo., Vol. I., p. 73.

“It is acknowledged by all writers on the origin of printing that the art was first practised by the Chinese. The precise epoch when it was invented cannot be ascertained. The Chinese assign a date to its origin which is anterior to the promulgation of Christianity. Some historians of other nations who have attempted to ascertain the fact, admit that the Chinese practised printing as early as the VI. century; others, among whom is Phil. Couplet, who has always been considered by the learned as a very accurate historian, ascribe the invention in China to the year 930. The celebrated Meerman in his history of printing mentions that the *Historia Sinensis* of Abdalla, written in Persic in 1317, speaks of it as an art in very common use. And indeed as the art is so useful, and, as practised in China, so simple, we cannot have a doubt that it was at least coëval with many other arts, which though less needful and more complicated and intricate in practice, are very generally acknowledged to have been in use in that great and very ancient empire for many years previous to a knowledge of similar arts in Europe.”

In the IX. century it is thought that the Chinese printed Block Books upon paper of their own manufacture, and in the XII. century it is said that they had a system of printing by movable types. Marco Polo returned in 1295 from seventeen years residence in China, and may have brought specimens of block books. In Europe engraving on wood in a crude form had been practised from an early date before the return of Polo.

The Venetians early in the XV. century established manufactories of playing cards on an extensive scale, and the Germans were also printers of colored cards which they called *heiligen*, whether they referred to sacred or profane subjects. Holland and Germany were the only countries where the art of printing block books was carried to any degree of perfection. They made their appearance at the close of the XIV. century, and were supposed to have been made on account of the high price of manuscript books and to meet the demand created by the revival of learning, which required a large supply of the classics and general

text-books of instruction, at a time when the business of transcribing was transferred from the hands of churchmen to professional transcribers. Some of the illustrations were very crude, much like stencil work. The British Museum has a manuscript book called in the catalogue *Figures de la Biblia*, where each illustration consists of a series of Bible subjects and occupies nearly the whole page, leaving little room for more than a written description and title. The colors appear to have been brushed on in nearly a dry state. Books of this class seem to have been the immediate forerunners of block books. One of the first authentic block books of which we are cognizant is the *Biblia Pauperum*, of which a copy of very early date is in the British Museum. It was probably made near the close of the XIV. century. Many copies of this work are still in existence, which show that they were once in demand, occasioned by the high price of the full Bible in manuscript. The *Biblia Pauperum* is supposed to have been made by St. Ansgar or Ansgarius, and had appeared in manuscript for centuries. It contained a series of scriptural designs briefly explained by passages from the holy scriptures, and is ascribed to St. Ansgar, because in an old copy of this xylographic work at Florence there is an entry in Latin, written in the style of the XV. century, to the effect that he was the author. The designs for the outline drawings of the original work, which were afterwards improved and served as models of the first block books that remain, were probably copied from the painted windows of some convent or from the sculptures of a cathedral. An effort to supply a simple class of block books was first made in Holland, which accounts for the large number of this class of books found there.

It is a question still shrouded in darkness and uncertainty, to whom the credit of first employing movable types shall be ascribed. Until the year 1870,¹ the weight of evidence

¹ Library Chronicle, London, 1887, Vol. IV., Nos. 44, 45, p. 135. The Nation, New York, 1888, Vol. XLVI., No. 1179, p. 95.

and the prevailing opinion of the best authorities inclined to give Laurens Koster of Haarlem this credit, but at that time Van der Linde, himself a native of Haarlem, wrote a series of letters, which afterwards appeared under the title "The Haarlem Legend of the Invention of Printing critically examined," alleging that the documents produced in favor of the claims of Koster were forgeries, and that the real credit belonged to Johann Gutenberg of Mentz. The able manner in which Van der Linde presented his plea, and the emphatic way in which he disposed of the whole question seems to have silenced for the time those who held contrary opinions, and Van der Linde became very popular in Germany and was made *Oberbibliothekar* of the Royal Library of Wiesbaden, and became *Dr. Antonius Von der Linde* and more German than the Germans. But in 1882 Mr. J. H. Hessels, after a three years' study of this question, reviewed Van der Linde's second and larger work, and says in his preface: "He [Van der Linde] takes all his documents at second, third or fourth hand, rarely telling his readers upon what authority he himself prints any single document, and from not investigating a single point in the whole question his book presents a more complete chaos on the subject than any of its predecessors." Mr. Hessels has just published a more elaborate study of this question, which is entitled: "Haarlem the Birth-place of Printing, not Mentz."¹ This learned investigation, though it does not incontrovertably settle the question, still proves that there are no good grounds for doubting the general truthfulness of the account of Koster's connection with early printing, even if some inaccuracies of detail are made evident. As the question of priority of invention is never likely to be set at rest, it may be interesting to speak briefly of those most prominently connected with the early development of the art, in the order of priority which a large number of authorities has united in assigning to them.

¹ Haarlem, not Mentz. By J. H. Hessels, London, 1887.

Laurens Koster was born in Haarlem about the year 1370, and like his father served in various municipal offices. He died in 1440, and for the last nineteen years of his life is thought to have been engaged in matters appertaining to the production of books. He is said to have been one of the earliest engravers of block books, and the plates of the *Biblia Pauperum* are thought to have been actually his work. The evidence for this is the style of the engravings and their arrangement, which is identical with other books attributed to him.

Block books are books printed from engraved wooden blocks, each block having the dimensions of a page, upon which is cut the illustration and such words or phrases as are intended to explain it, or it may consist of a page of engraved text without illustrations; briefly, it is like a stereotype plate in wood, if such a thing was possible.

Koster's first *Speculum* in block work was probably executed between 1410-20. The earliest edition contains forty leaves and the latest fifty, printed only on one side; the rubbing process, by means of which the impressions were obtained, having unfitted the back for the reception of impressions; while rubbing the face on which the impression was already taken would have much impaired the work; so that as long as this system prevailed it was imperatively necessary to print on one side only. Instances are found where two leaves are pasted together, thus concealing the blank side, but generally the blank backs of each leaf show distinctly the marks of rubbing with some soft substance. Until 1430 block books were printed by rubbing on dis-tempered inks, but after that time the more simple method of presswork took its place. Still these books continued to be printed long after the discovery of movable types, and we have the *Mirabilia Romæ* of 1480, and the *Opera Nova* of 1510.

In the earliest block books the engraving and lettering is very rude and evidently executed with much labor; and

the works selected were such as required little more in the text than brief descriptive titles or short paragraphs. But as the skill of the engraver increased, the handwriting of the time was better imitated, and successive pages of text were executed with entire success. The block-work in *Ars Moriendi* is nearly as regular and quite in the same style as in the earliest class of movable type work.

In block books, and in early movable type work, the precise imitation of the writing of the time was sought to be secured, and not the formation of a letter suited to the purposes of the printing press. It is not possible to credit the discovery of printing to any one person, for the art was taken up and carried on by successive workers. The substitution of paper for vellum in block books was necessary, as the rigidity and toughness of the vellum would have prevented an even impression from the wooden plate. But the labors of the image cutters, seal makers and xylographic book printers were necessary to pave the way by a succession of steps to the employment of movable types by Koster and Gutenberg. Koster made his first essay with movable types presumably in the year 1426, and eventually perfected metal types. The *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* was probably the first book made by Koster with movable types, in 1430; and before 1440, when he died, Koster had issued three editions. He printed block books, and afterwards mixed xylographic and printed pages, and also block pictures with printed text attached. A specimen attributed to Koster has the illustration in wood printed by rubbing with brown distemper ink, while the text, added by another process, was printed in black oleaginous ink from movable types in some rude kind of press and pasted to the illustration. The back of the plate still shows the gloss produced by rubbing, while on the back of the text no gloss is found.

“The Grenville copy of the *Speculum* in the British Museum has first a blank leaf, followed by five pages of

preface, entirely printed from movable type: the first printed page having a blank space left for the initial letter, a P, which has been rudely painted in by hand in red, leaving a white device in the broad parts of the letter. The leaves of the preface are printed only on one side, although no objection existed to printing on both sides as in the xylographic pages which follow, where the back of the pages is rendered unfit for printing by the rubbing to which the work had been subjected. The page on the Creation of Eve and the one next following are entirely xylographic; the third page, The Temptation, has a page printed from movable type in black ink, which contrasts strongly with the light brown distemper of the wood cuts. Then follow block pages till the twelfth which is in type; the thirteenth and fourteenth are block and the fifteenth is in type. The remaining block pages are 16, 17, 21, 22, 26, 27, 46, 55, in all twenty xylographic and forty-two typographic pages, including the preface. Of the first edition of the *Speculum* ten copies are known, and five of them remain in Holland. Of the second edition, which differs from the first in having its xylographic leaves cut away and their place supplied by printed pages, only one remains in Holland. The third edition, a Dutch translation in prose, is produced by the same double process, and has a text printed on one side only. The fourth edition of the *Speculum* is in Dutch prose, and differs materially from the others in being printed in smaller type. The execution of this copy is generally inferior to the other three. Of this last edition but three copies can be traced. One is at the Town Hall of Haarlem, the second is in the Haarlem Public Library, and the third is in the Lisle Public Library. The fourth, like the former editions, has the pages printed only on one side, two pages of the Lisle copy having an appearance of being printed on both sides, from the existence of a strong set-off, occurring no doubt in consequence of general carelessness of execution, for none of the back pages correspond in order with those which precede or follow. In this edition another defect has been pointed out, that in the Lisle copy and in that at Florence the fifth leaf of the third gathering has the text pasted on beneath the illustration, showing that it had been the custom in getting up the *Speculum* to print the illustrations first, or that the first text was spoiled in

printing. The discovery that wood blocks could be treated with the same ink as type not having been made at that time may have been the reason for pasting on the printed text in cases where the leaf had been soiled below the illustration."¹

All the books ascribed to Koster, except the *Speculum*, are printed on both sides of the paper, a strong proof that the *Speculum* preceded the others.

Johann Gutenberg of Mentz, with two or three associates, in 1438 established a copartnership to develop a new invention which turned out to be essays in printing. His first attempts with lead types seem to have been failures because the metal was too soft. In 1450 Gutenberg was joined by Johann Fust who furnished him with money. Gutenberg, in 1451, printed a grammar for children, called a *Donatus* from the name of its author, an "Appeal against the Turks" in 1454, and "Letters of Indulgence" in 1454-55, all of which appeared before his edition of the Bible. In 1455 the Bible was first issued. The rubrics of the first Bible were left blank to be written in by hand, and spaces were allowed the illuminator to introduce capitals, so that the book when completed by hand had the effect of an illuminated manuscript of that period. It was superior to manuscripts of the second order, though not to be compared with the best illuminated work. The first printed Bible was called the Mazarin Bible because it was first discovered in the library of the Cardinal Mazarin. It is probable that a few copies of the completed Bible were issued by Gutenberg while still master of the establishment, but in 1455 Johann Fust took possession of the whole of the materials under a foreclosure of mortgage. Gutenberg, though seemingly ruined by this loss of all which he had devoted twenty years of his life to acquire, still managed to re-establish himself, and in association with another partner he printed

¹ History of the Art of Printing. By H. Noel Humphreys. London, 1868. Folio. p. 62., *et passim*.

“*Tractatus de Celebratione Missarum*,” which was discovered in the library of the Chatreux at Mayence. It contained this memorandum written in Latin “The Chatreux of Mayence possess this book through the liberality of Johann called Gutenberg, the production of his art and of the science of Johann Nunmeister, completed on the 19th of July in the year 1463.” His successors, Fust and Schoeffer, printed the Psalter, the first book with a printed date, in 1457. Their Bible of 1462 was an improvement in typography.

Cardinal Torquemada introduced printing into Italy in 1465 by importing two Germans, who set up a press at the Monastery of Subiaco near Rome. One of these men was an engraver and the other a compositor, and they were assisted by the monks. Printing was first practised in Venice in 1469. Nicholas of Breslau came to Florence in 1477, and in 1480 he published a copy of Dante’s *Divina Comedia* with copper-plate illustrations. In 1470 German workmen, imported to Paris, set up the first printing press in France at the Sorbonne.

William Caxton, the father of English printing, was born in England near the year 1411, and was in business in London with Robert Strange who dealt in dry goods and in books. This business arrangement continued till 1441, when Strange died, leaving Caxton a considerable legacy, who then carried on the same trade for himself. When yet a young man he left England as an agent for the Company of Mercers of London, and appears to have been proud of his country and of his business, for he styled himself a “citizen and mercer of the city of London.” Edward IV. employed him with Richard Whitehall to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the Duke of Burgundy. Their Commission styled them *Ambassiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios et Deputos Speciales*. In 1469 Caxton made an English translation of *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*, which he issued from the press of

Ulric Zell of Cologne. In 1471 he issued from his press in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, "The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers," commonly called the Game at Chess, the first book ever printed in England, followed by a large number of important works, many of them translated and some of them written by himself. The prologue of Caxton's first work,¹ which really was what we should consider a preface, and which contained the date of the publication, was very amusing. It was

"Here begynneth the volume intituled the recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed and drawen out of dyuerce bookes of latyn into Frensshe by the ryght venerable persone and worshipful man Raoul le ffeure, preest and chapelayn unto the ryght noble, glorious and myghty prynce in his tyme Phelip duc of Bourgoyne, of Brabant, &c, in the yere of the incarnacion of our lord god, a thousand, foure honderd sixty and foure, and translated and drawen out of frensshe into englysshe by Willyam Caxton, mercer of ye cyte of London, at the commandment of the ryght hye, myghty and vertuous Pryncesse hys redoubted lady Margarete, by the Grace of God, Duchesse of Bourgoyne, of Lotryk, of Brabant &c, whiche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in the Countee of Flandres, the first day of march in the yere of the Incarnacion of our sayd lord god a thousand foure honderd sixty and eyghte, And ended and fynyshid in the holy cyte of Colen the XIX. day of September the yere of our said lord god a thousand four hundred sixty and enleuen."

He wrote again in the colophon :

"Thus ended this book whyche I haue translated after myn Auctor as nyghe as god hath gyuen me counyng to whom he gyven the laude & preysing. And for as moche as in the wryting of the same my penne is worn, myne hand very & of not stedfast, myn eyen dimed with overmoche loking on the white paper, and my corage not so prone and redy to laboure as hit hath ben, and that age crepeth on me dayly and febleth all the bodye, and also because I have promysid to dyuerce gentilmen and to my frendes to ad-

¹ The Life and Typography of William Caxton. By William Blades. Vol. I. p. 131. London. 4to. Joseph Lilly, 1861.

dresse to hem as hastely as I mygth this sayd book. Therefore I have practysed & lerned at my grete charge and dispense to ordeyne this said book in prynte after the maner & forme as ye may here see, and is not wreton with penne and ynke as other bookes ben, to thende that euery man may have them attones ffor all the bookes of this storye named the recule of the historyes of troyes, thus enprynted as ye here see were begonne in oon day and also fynnyshid in oon day. * * * *

There can be little doubt that libraries or collections of books, soon followed the invention of writing and the use of tablets or scrolls, upon which it could be inscribed and preserved, in all parts of the world where the art had passed to the use of conventional signs and pictures to clearly designate any idea or event. Before that time information was not intrusted to any portable material which should preserve its existence. It was inscribed upon stones, walls or buildings. Even before writing left the hieroglyphic state, it was intrusted to the paper formed from the Maguey plant by the Mexicans, and the few manuscripts that have come to us and the knowledge of the continuous *autos-dii-fé* practised by the Spanish conquerors and priests, lead us to think that early Indian tribes of the central portions of this continent must have had collections of their books or manuscripts at a period long before the earliest authentic information we have received from any oral or written statement regarding them. In a report for the Council of this Society, made by the writer April 26, 1876,¹ an account of Maya

¹ Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (Old Series), April 26, 1876. Worcester: Charles Hamilton. pp. 45-48. Bishop Landa gives the following description of Maya manuscripts or books:

"They wrote their books on a large, highly decorated leaf, doubled in folds and enclosed between two boards, and they wrote on both sides in columns corresponding to the folds. The paper they made of the roots of a tree, and gave it a white varnish on which one could write well. This art was known to men of high rank, and because of their knowledge of it they were much esteemed; but they did not practise the art in public. This people also used certain characters or letters, with which they wrote in their books of their antiquities and their sciences: and by means of these and of figures, and by certain signs in their figures, they understood their writings, and made them understood and taught them. We found among them a great number of books of

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manuscripts or books, taken from Landa's *Relacion des Choses de Yucatan*, was presented, and a detailed narration of the burning of large collections of these manuscripts and a description of the few that remain was given much at length, to establish reasonable grounds for supposing that the Western Hemisphere possessed collections of manuscripts or books at a very early date, as is found to be the case in other countries that have advanced sufficiently in civilization to be governed by civil rulers and priests, and to practise inter-communication by inscribed characters explicable by a generally accepted key. Although there is much traditional authority for the existence of libraries of Aztec and Maya books at the time of the conquest, no authentic proof of the discovery of such collections in any specified locality has been brought to light.

As the antiquity of the Indian tribes of the central and

these letters of theirs, and because they contained nothing which had not superstitions and falsities of the devil, we burned them all: at which they were exceedingly sorrowful and troubled."

In Cogolludo's *Historia de Yucatan* there is an account of a destruction of Indian antiquities by the same Bishop Landa, of which we give a translation: "This Bishop, who passed for an illustrious saint among the priests of this province, was still an extravagant fanatic, and so hard hearted that he became cruel. One of the heaviest accusations against him, which his apologists could not deny or justify, was the famous *auto-da-fe*, in which he proceeded in a most arbitrary and despotic manner. Father Landa destroyed many precious memorials, which to-day might throw a brilliant light over our ancient history, still enveloped in an almost impenetrable chaos until the period of the conquest. Landa saw in books that he could not comprehend, cabalistic signs and invocations to the devil. Among the articles enumerated as being burnt by this celebrated priest were twenty-seven rolls of signs and hieroglyphics on deer-skins." Prescott writes: "The first Arch Bishop of Mexico was Juan de Zumarraga, a name that should be as immortal as that of Omar, collected these paintings from every quarter, especially from Tescuco, the most cultivated capital of Anahuac, and the great depository of the national archives. He then caused them to be piled up in a mountain heap, as it was called by the Spanish writers themselves, in the market-place of Tlatelolco, and reduced them all to ashes." It is not then to be wondered at that so few Maya MSS. have escaped and are preserved when such a spirit of destruction animated the Spanish priests at the time of the conquest. Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, whom we are happy to recognize as a member of this Society, in a systematic and exhaustive treatment of the history and present condition of the Indians of the Pacific States, has presented a great amount of valuable information, much of which

southern portions of this continent is generally admitted to be very remote, the evidence there offered affords strong grounds for believing that here as in other countries, when ideas and records could be expressed by signs or drawings upon a portable material, they were made into the form of manuscripts or books and were kept apart for general or particular use.

Some of the oldest libraries probably exist in China, as there are good grounds for believing that writing, printing and the manufacture of paper in that country preceded the discoveries of the same arts in other parts of the world, and we know that Pekin has an ancient library of 300,000 volumes, and Yeddo, Japan, a collection of 150,000 volumes, which is rich in Chinese literature.

The ruins of a very ancient library are to be found in Assyria. It is said that

“The fragments of terra-cotta tablets containing these

has never before been offered to the public; and in his wide view he comprehends important observations on Central American antiquities. He gives an account of existing ancient Maya Manuscripts or books: “Of the aboriginal Maya manuscripts, three specimens only, so far as I know have been preserved. There are the *Mexican Manuscript* No. 2, of the Imperial Library at Paris, the *Dresden Codex* and the *Manuscript Troano*. Of the first, we only know of its existence, and the similarity of its characters to those of the other two, and of the sculptured tablets. The *Dresden Codex* is preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden. The *Manuscript Troano* was found about the year 1865, in Madrid, by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg. Its name comes from that of its possessor in Madrid, Sr. Tro y Ortolano, and nothing whatever is known of its origin. The original is written on a strip of Maguey paper about 14 feet long and 9 inches wide, the surface of which is covered with a whitish varnish, on which the figures are painted in black, red, blue and brown. It is folded fan-like into 35 folds, presenting when shut much the appearance of a modern large octavo volume. The hieroglyphics cover both sides of the paper, and the writing is consequently divided into seventy pages, each about 5 x 9 inches, having been apparently executed after the paper was folded, so that the folding does not interfere with the written matter.”

It is probable that early manuscripts, as well as others of less antiquity than the above-mentioned, but of great historical importance, yet remain buried among the archives of the many churches and convents of Yucatan; and it is also true that a systematic search for them has never been prosecuted. A thorough examination of ecclesiastical and antiquarian collections in that country, would be a service to the students of archaeology which ought not to be longer deferred.

legends were found in the *débris* which covers the south-west and the north palaces at Konyunjik, the former being of the age of Sennacherib (717 B. C.), the latter belonging to the time Assurbanipal (670 B. C.). The tablets which are of all sizes, from one inch long to over a foot square are nearly all in fragments, and in consequence of the changes which have taken place in the ruins, the fragments of the same tablet are sometimes scattered widely apart. It appears from a consideration of the present positions of the fragments that they were originally in the upper chambers of the palace, and have fallen on the destruction of the building. In some of the lower chambers they covered the whole floor, in other cases they lay in groups or patches on the pavements, and there are occasional clusters of fragments at various heights in the earth which covers the buildings. The other fragments are scattered singly through all the upper earth which covers the floors and walls of the palace. Different fragments of the same tablets and cylinders are found in separate chambers which have no immediate connection with each other, showing that the present distribution of the fragments has nothing to do with the original position of the tablets. A consideration of the inscriptions shows that these tablets have been arranged according to their subjects in various positions in the libraries. Stories or subjects were commenced on tablets, and continued on other tablets of the same size and form, in some cases the number of tablets in a series and on a single subject amounting to over one hundred. Each subject or series of tablets had a title, the title being found by the first phrase or part of a phrase in the subject. Thus the series of Astrological tablets, numbering over seventy, bore the title, 'When the gods Anu, Elu,' this being the commencement of the first tablet. At the end of every tablet in each series was written its number in the work thus, 'The first tablet of when the gods Anu Elu,' 'The second tablet of when the gods Anu Elu;' and further to preserve the proper position of each tablet, every one except the last in a series has at the end a catch-phrase consisting of the first line of the following tablet. There were besides catalogues of these documents written like them on clay tablets, and other small oval tablets with titles upon them, apparently labels for the various series of works. All these arrangements show care taken with respect to

literary matters * *. Judging from the fragments discovered it is probable that there were in the Royal Library at Nineveh over 10,000 inscribed tablets, comprising almost every subject in ancient literature."¹

Little is known of the libraries of ancient Greece. That there were early book collectors is certain, such as Pisistratus (560-527 B. C.), Eurypides (480-407 B. C.), Aristotle (384-322 B. C.), and Plato (429-347 B. C.). All of them were said to have possessed libraries, but we only know of the libraries of Greece from the inscriptions said to have been carved upon their portals, but nothing of their character and contents. Books were rare and expensive, written by hand, and each copy was made use of to entertain or instruct a large number of listeners.

The famous library of Alexandria, Egypt, was founded in the year 280 B. C., by Ptolemy Soter, at the suggestion either of Aristotle or Demetrius Phalereus. Its collections were increased by Ptolemy Philadelphus and his successors. Ptolemy Energetes obtained the original writings of Sophocles, Æschylus and Euripides on pledge, as the indispensable condition of permitting the purchase of Egyptian corn for the relief of a famine at Athens. The manuscripts were carefully copied at Alexandria and the copies were returned to the Athenians, who were allowed to retain the fifteen talents (\$14,500) which had guaranteed the safety of the originals. Seneca writes that there were 400,000 volumes (*rolls*) in the Alexandrian library. Aulus Gellius makes the number 700,000, and Eusebius says that in 247 B. C. the number of volumes was 100,000. The Orientalist Sylvestre de Sacy believes that there were four separate libraries at Alexandria: (1) Library of the Brucheion near the palace; (2) Library of the Serapeum near the temple of Serapis; (3) Library of the Sebasteum near the temple of Augustus; (4) Library of the school of Alexandria; and

¹The Chaldean Account of Genesis. By George Smith. 8vo. New York: Scribner & Sons, 1876, p. 19.

this view if correct will account for any discrepancy in statements regarding the contents of the library, whether considered as one great whole or regarded by its component parts. The names of five different librarians of the first great library are given, and embrace an epoch from the year 280 to 171 B. C. A large library at Alexandria was burned during the siege of that city by Julius Cæsar in the year 47 B. C., not designedly, but by the chances of war. However, history leaves us in doubt as to which of the collections suffered.

The next large library and a formidable rival of the great library of Alexandria was the Pergamus library, founded probably by Attalus I. who reigned from 241 to 197 B. C. It survived the Alexandria library but was sent to supply its place by Antony as a gift to Cleopatra, and at this time Plutarch says it contained 200,000 volumes. This library perhaps with its increased collections, or, according to Sylvestre de Sacy, that already mentioned as formed for the service of the school of Alexandria was destroyed by the Caliph Omar,¹ A. D. 642, on the conquest of the city by the Saracens.

As a historical fact, the accuracy of this statement has been frequently doubted. But whether it is better to take the assertions of four known oriental writers to its truth, or to disbelieve the story utterly from the silence of two other writers, and then to ascribe the destruction of the library to the early Christians, and taking advantage of the uncertainties of dates, to assert its falsity, is a question upon which those who wish to investigate this so called myth have authorities at command.

¹The Unseen World and other Essays. By John Fiske. Boston: J. H. Osgood & Co., 1876, p. 171.

Historical Difficulties. By Octave Delapierre. London: John Murray, 1868, p. 31.

A late article in *The Spectator*, London, June 2, 1888, No. 3,127, p. 749, by Malcolm MacColl, discusses the question exhaustively, and expresses a strong belief in the truth of the statement made by Abulpharagius.

Gibbon¹ thus speaks of this fanatical deed of Omar: "I should deceive the expectation of the reader, if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the learned Abulpharagius. * * * * * John Philoponus solicited a gift of the royal library, which alone among the spoils of Alexandria had not been appropriated by the visit and seal of the conqueror. Amron was inclined to gratify the wish, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the Caliph. But the ignorant and fanatical Omar ordered that the library should be destroyed in the famous words, 'If these writings of the Greeks agree with the Koran they are useless and need not be preserved: if they disagree they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed.' The sentence was executed with blind obedience. The volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four baths of the city, and such was their incredible multitude that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. For my own part I am strongly tempted to deny both fact and consequence," says Gibbon in conclusion. The number of books destroyed in this holocaust of Omar is generally reported to be 700,000.

A buried library was discovered at Herculaneum in 1754 which had been hidden from the light of day since A. D. 79. The floor of one of the apartments devoted to this library was of mosaic work, and the books appeared to have been arranged in highly decorated presses. Careful exploration succeeded in collecting three hundred and thirty-seven Greek and eighteen Latin volumes or manuscripts, the latter of larger dimensions than the Greek and in worse condition, but the number of manuscripts and fragments originally deposited in the Naples Museum was one thousand six hundred and ninety-six. Of these eighty-eight had been unrolled and found to be legible, and three hundred

¹History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon. London: John Murray, 1882. 8vo., Vol. vii., p. 336.

and nineteen others had been operated upon and more or less unrolled, but were found to be illegible. From 1793 to 1844, eight folio volumes, reproductions from the Library of Herculaneum, have been published by the royal press of Naples. They contain two books of Epicurus, one of Philodemus with portions of other treatises by the same author, the works or parts of the works of Polystratus, Metrodorus and other Greek writers, and fragments of a Latin poem, supposed to be by Rabirius. The disinterred rolls when first discovered, appeared like roots of wood blackened and seeming to be only of one piece. One of them falling on the ground broke in the middle and many letters were observed, by which it was first known that the rolls were of papyrus. They were found enclosed in round wooden cases, so much burned that they could not be preserved. There is absolutely no information, other than what can be gathered from the ruins themselves, in regard to the libraries of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and in the latter place, as the manuscripts were more exposed to water and to the action of the air penetrating through the loose ashes, without such a barrier against it as existed in the consolidated tufa of Herculaneum, the carbonaceous parts of the papyrus have been entirely destroyed, and nothing is left but earthy matter.

Libraries among the Greeks at first consisted merely of archives, deposited for preservation in the temples of the gods. Pisistratus, the tyrant, has the honor of being the first to establish a public library, at Athens in 530 B. C., where were collected the works of Homer, and the Athenians themselves contributed to enlarge the collection. Aristotle is said to have founded a library, which after being transported to different parts of Greece became the library of Apellicon, which was taken possession of by Sylla at the capture of Athens and carried to Rome.

The earliest library at Rome seems to have been that of Æmilius Paulus about the year 168 B. C., and it was this

library to which the victorious Sylla added that captured in Greece. The library of Lucullus was both large and choice, and is said to have been opened to all comers. These, though open to the public, were essentially private libraries. Julius Cæsar, however, intended establishing a public library which should contain the largest possible collection of Latin and Greek books, but this beneficent design was frustrated by his assassination. To Asinius Pollio (84-4 B. C.) is ascribed the first foundation of an institution so useful to literature. He erected a public library in the atrium of the temple of Liberty on the Aventine Hill, and the administration of it was placed in the hands of Varro. Cæsar Augustus erected two public libraries, the Octavian and the Palatine, the former placed in the portico of Octavia in charge of Melissus, who had been manumitted by Augustus. The Palatine library was added by Augustus to the temple of Apollo which he had erected. There, were deposited the corrected book of the Sibyls, and from two ancient inscriptions quoted by Lipsius and Pitiscus, it seems that it consisted of two distinct collections, one Greek and the other Latin. Tiberius enlarged the libraries founded by Augustus, and began another collection in his own house, which he called the Tiberian library. Vespasian established a library in the temple of Peace, after the burning of Rome by Nero, and Domitian in the beginning of his reign restored at great expense those that had been destroyed by the conflagration, collecting books from every quarter, and sending writers to Alexandria to transcribe volumes in that collection, or to correct copies that had been made elsewhere. The most magnificent of the Roman libraries was that of the Emperor Ulpian Trajanus. It was erected in Trajan's forum, but was afterwards removed to the Viminal Hill to ornament the baths of Diocletian. This library possessed the so-called elephantine books, written upon tables of ivory, wherein were recorded the transactions of the emperors, proceedings of the senate and of Roman

magistrates and the affairs of the provinces. All these libraries and others at Rome, of a public nature, together with the many public and private collections in the principal cities of the Empire, were one after another destroyed by the irruption of the barbarians, or were burned by accidental cause, so that not one of them remains as a monument to the past.

In A. D. 330 Constantinople became the seat of art and literature under Constantine the Great, who gave much attention to the collection of a library, and after his death the work was continued by his successors, the number of manuscripts thus brought together varying from one hundred to six hundred thousand, according to different estimates. In A. D. 1453 came the siege and capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and probably the bulk of the collections perished; but it is certain that the great libraries of Europe owe to Constantinople some of their choicest treasures, which have been brought from that city. For many years it was believed that a closed building existed near the mosque of St. Sophia containing a large number of Greek, Hebrew and Latin manuscripts, but this expectation has proved to be ungrounded, and later examinations of the library of the Seraglio have failed to gratify the high hopes entertained. Still, in the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople in 1856, while it offered little aid to classical literature, were found many documents, which threw new light upon the history of the Greeks after the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

Libraries from the VIII. to the XV. century were mostly to be found in monasteries or in palaces, and the former repositories proved generally the safest. Though the ecclesiastics could not preserve pagan writings from sympathy with their religious theories, still their love of literature has preserved nearly all the Greek and Latin Classics which we now possess. The Benedictines were the first transcribers of the classics, and for generations the monastic

orders were the writers and publishers of the best productions of the Fathers of the Church, besides being the authors of school text-books and the translators and transcribers of the Bible.

It is very doubtful if the vague and various accounts we receive of the number of books in ancient libraries, represent the number of volumes or only of the rolls, each of which might contain merely a book of Homer, Virgil or Livy, which would greatly increase the list. It is probable that these rolls of the ancients were equivalent to little more than our modern parts of books or numbers of periodicals, and the contents of the largest libraries in ancient times should be much reduced in number, when estimated by the standard of the contents of modern collections.

Little is recorded of the use of books during the dark ages, between the fall of the Roman Empire and the revival of letters in the XV. century. Yet private libraries more or less accessible to students existed. Tonantius Ferreolus in the V. century made a remarkable collection in his castle of Prusiana, between Nismes and Clermont. Publius Consentius formed another collection at his villa near Narbonne, and Cassiodorus, minister of Theodore, King of the Goths, retired to a monastery which he had built, and there founded a library for the use of the monks about the middle of the VI. century. Later Charlemagne instituted a library near Lyons. Many others might be named who collected material for private study, especially those whose taste led them to religious investigations and to follow out curious historical points. Still the monks were the great collectors of the middle ages.

“Half a century before the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, learned men began to emigrate into Italy and elsewhere, and opened schools where they directed the public taste towards the study of the classic writers of Greece and Rome. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, new libraries sprang up in the independent Italian States, which were at once enriched by the importation of

Greek and Latin manuscripts from Constantinople. The taste for literature was thus revived and quickened, and collectors were sent to search for manuscripts in all directions; and in the course of a few years most of the ancient authors now known, were brought together in the libraries of Rome, Naples, Venice, Florence, Vienna and Paris. In the course of some eighty years a large proportion of the existing treasures of antiquity was made known to the world. Since that time, additional discoveries have been made, but the principal improvements of a subsequent date have consisted in the emendation of the texts of ancient authors, partly by a more extensive collation of manuscripts than the first editor possessed the means of making, and partly by the lights and aids of a cautious and judicious criticism."¹

"In England in the XV. century there were a few ecclesiastics who saw the importance of books and who tried to found libraries, but the greater part of the clergy were very ignorant. They would not teach nor would they allow the common people to be taught. It was unlawful even as late as 1412 for laborers, farmers and mechanics to send their children to school. A great opportunity was presented in Wickliffe's translation of the Bible, which could have been made an effective means for diffusing the knowledge of letters among a religious people, but in 1415 it was enacted that those who read the scriptures in the mother tongue should be hanged for treason and burned for heresy. In spite of all these impediments there was a slow but positive diffusion of knowledge among English people. How the knowledge was communicated is not clear, for notices of common schools in England and indeed on the continent are infrequent and unsatisfactory. We have some curious relics of the substitutes for books used by the people. One of them is the horn book, by which the children were taught their letters and the Lord's Prayer. It consisted of a single leaf, containing on one side the alphabet large and small in black-letter, or in Roman, with perhaps a small regiment of monosyllables and the words of the Lord's Prayer. This leaf was usually set in wood with a slice of diaphanous horn in front; hence the name horn

¹ Libraries and Founders of Libraries. By Edward Edwards. New York: G. P. Philes & Co., 1865, p. 29.

book. Generally there was a handle to hold it by, and this handle had usually a hole for a string, whereby the horn book was slung to the girdle of the scholar. It was frequently noticed by early chroniclers. One is mentioned from the time of Charles I.

“Books of the middle ages of large size were bound in boards never less than one-fourth inch, sometimes two inches in thickness. For books to receive hard usage, hog skin was selected as a covering for the boards. Books often received metal ornament and gilding, and to protect the ornament the boards were often panelled or sunk in the centre, and the corners and sometimes the entire outer edges of the cover were shielded with thick projecting plates of brass or copper. The book thus bound was too weighty to be held in the hand and was so full of angles and knobs that it could not be placed upon a flat table without danger of scratching it. For the safety of the books and the convenience of the reader, it was necessary that the book should be laid on an inclined desk or on a revolving lecturn. Some of these books had a mortise in the cover to the left, for the insertion of the hand when the book was held up for reading.”¹

“St. Pamphilius, presbyter of Caesaria, and a martyr in the III. century, was the first known originator of a lending library. He was of eminent family, of great wealth, extensive learning and was ardently devoted to the scriptures, copies of which he loaned to some and gave to others, several of them having been transcribed with his own hand. In him were united the philosopher and the Christian. He withdrew himself from the glare of temporal grandeur and spent his life in the most disinterested benevolence. He erected a library at Caesaria which contained 30,000 volumes. This collection was made only for the promotion of religion, and to lend out to religiously disposed people. Jerome particularly mentions his collecting books for the purpose of lending them to be read. ‘This,’ says Dr. Adam Clarke, ‘is, if I mistake not, the first notice we have of a circulating library.’”²

¹The Invention of Printing. By Theo. L. De Vinne. New York: Francis Hart & Co., 1876. 8vo., pp. 155-173.

²Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote. By C. H. Timperley. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1842. 8vo., p. 33.

Among the Benedictine collections the Monastery of Monte Cassino in central Italy was famous for its transcriptions, not only of theological works but of Virgil, Horace, Terence, the Idyls of Theocritus, the Fasti of Ovid, and many of the historians of Greece and Rome. The library of the Monastery was much resorted to by students, and though suffering at times from neglect it still contains a very valuable collection of manuscripts. The library of Fleury on the Loire was another famous collection of the Benedictines. But perhaps the most celebrated monkish library was that of Corbie in Picardy. It was founded in the VII. century by Queen Bathilda. Its collections were increased by gifts from Italian monasteries, and Corbie contributed by gifts or loan to the literary wants of other communities. Usually when books were borrowed other volumes were deposited in pledge. In some cases the books thus pledged remained in this library until its dispersion. Three several catalogues of the library at different epochs are still in existence. In 1795 what remained of its collections was removed to the National Library at Paris.

Canterbury in England is said to have enjoyed priority in possessing the first known library in the country, that of Christ Church monastery. Near the close of the VII. century Theodore of Tarsus is said to have added to the small foundation already made by St. Augustine. At the close of the XIII. century a catalogue of nearly 3,000 entries was made. The library of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury is the subject of a XV. century catalogue now extant among the manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin, which shows that besides its theological treasures, it was conspicuous for its English chronicles and for its numerous works in French romance. The libraries of Durham Abbey and of Peterborough contained, not only theology and church history, but very large collections of the Latin classics and many volumes of poetry of the middle

ages. Sir Richard Whittington built a noble library for the Franciscans in London in 1421 which became noted for the books collected. "It was called the Library of the Grey Friars, and was 129 ft. long by 31 ft. wide, fitted up with 28 desks and 8 double settees of wainscott, and was also ceiled with wainscott. In three years it was filled with books to the value of £556, of which Sir Richard contributed £400, and Dr. Thomas Winchelsey, a friar of the Augustines, supplied the rest. Thomas Walden, a learned Carmelite friar, who went by order of Henry V. to the Council of Constance and died approved in 1430, bequeathed to the same library as many manuscripts, written in capital Roman characters, as were then estimated at more than 2,000 pieces of gold, and adds that this library exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies."¹

Among the early private libraries, that of the Poet Petrarch (1304–1374) is to be noted. He was not only a collector, but he aspired to become the permanent founder of a library for Venice, and gave those books which he had or of which he might become possessed to the Church of St. Mark; but although he prescribed in his conditions in 1332 that "the books should not be sold or in any way misused, but preserved in a fitting place, safe from fire and from dampness," no attention seems to have been given to the precious gift of the poet, and the collection was allowed to fall into entire neglect; so that in the middle of the XVII. century only a few scanty remains were found in a long-deserted chamber. Boccacio bequeathed his library, which was quite extensive, to the Augustinians of Florence in 1575. The library of the great Essayist Montaigne, 1533–1592, at his country seat in Perigord, was dispersed in some unknown way at his death, and only forty books can now be accounted for. Montaigne speaks of his house

¹ *Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote.* By C. H. Timperley. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1842. 8vo., p. 95.

and library in this way: "I see beneath me my garden, my court yard, my base court and most parts of my house. Now I turn over the leaves of one book, now of another. Sometimes I fall into a reverie; sometimes I dictate my dreams as you see whilst walking up and down. * * * * Here I pass the most of the days of my life, and most of the hours of the day. Close to it is a cabinet where in winter I can have a fire. * * * * From my writing table I can see all my books ranged on five tiers or shelves all around the room." As he was a diligent user of books many of them bear an appended critical summary or estimate and frequent marginal notes.

He chose to decorate his library with mottoes, and climbing a ladder, with the aid of a branding iron he burned his inscriptions, letter by letter with his own hands on the beams and rafters with infinite pains and perseverance. "Most characteristic are these mottoes. Solomon, Homer, Horace, Persius, Lucretius and Terence are all laid under contribution. But no writer is so often quoted in them as St. Paul, e. g. 'For if a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself.' 'And, if a man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.' 'I say * * * to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think but to think soberly.' The '*Quantum est in rebus inane*,' and the '*O miseras hominum mentes*' of Lucretius: even the

*'Quid aeternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?'*

of Horace are but variations of the sad theme of The Preacher * * * The inscriptions which adorned the other rafters are chiefly in Greek, with an admixture of Latin words in the same sentence; and seem for the most part to be of Montaigne's own adaptation. 'Amidst the see-saws of the intellect nothing is absolutely firm.' 'I do not

comprehend :—I pause :—I examine :—following the teachings of good sense.' 'No one ever possessed absolute certainty ; no one ever will possess it.' A third may be rendered by the words of our homely proverb 'Much may be said on both sides.' Another goes deeper, 'Who knows but that what we call dying is beginning to live ; and that what we term life is really death.' Again, 'It is not so much things that torment man, as the opinion he forms of things.'"¹ There are other mottoes recorded, but none which suggest introspection wiser than those we have cited. Montaigne died in 1592.

In an account of Old Lancashire Libraries² we find a notice of a relic of the past still remaining in the Bolton School Library.

"The books of which the Library at present consists are in an old oak chest which stands upon legs about three feet from the ground. The chest contains two shelves, divided down the centre with iron rods running along in front of each shelf, evidently for the purpose of chaining the books, and has folding doors opening in the centre. Along the outside above the doors runs this inscription, carved in the wood, 'The gift of James Lever, Citizen of London, 1694.' There is also a inventory of the books in these words 'Books belonging to Bolton School Feb. 13, 1735, given by Mr. James Lever, Citizen of London, Dr. Morall and others, and chained by Henry Estenke in the Liberrary of yt Schoole.' Eighteen volumes of the catalogue are still preserved in the book case and one folio volume of Fox's Acts still retains its chain. * * * Mr. John Crue in making an examination has discovered and clearly identified 56 of the 108 volumes originally deposited in the church, 49 vols. are perfect and 54 still have the chain attached to them. They are in poor condition and though one or two of them show signs of having been read, the bulk of them seemed to have suffered more from damp and dust than from use."

¹ Libraries and Founders of Libraries. By Edward Edwards. New York : G. P. Philes & Co. 8vo., 1865, pp. 65-67.

² Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire. By Richard Copley Christie. Chatham Society, 1885. 8vo., pp. 19-114.

“Humphrey Chetham in 1651 made provision for the Library and College at Manchester called by his name, and also for the establishment of five other libraries of Godly English Books in these words: ‘Also I do hereby give and bequeath the sum of two hundred pounds to be bestowed by my Executors in Godly English books such as Calvins, Prestons and Perkins works, comments and annotations of the Bible or some parts thereof, or such other books as the said Richard Johnson, John Tilveslay and Mr. Hollingsworth may think most proper for the edification of the common people, to be by the discretion of my said executors chained upon desks or to be fixed to the pillars, or in other convenient places in the parish churches of Manchester and Boulton in the Moors, and in the chapels of Tuston Walmesley and Gorten in said county of Lancaster one year next after my decease.’”

The effect of the general suppression of monasteries in England in 1537, and the consequent destruction of the libraries they contained, is well and concisely stated in the following extract:

“In the destruction of religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII. great stores of the highest value perished. He who neither spared man in his rage nor woman in his lust spared not the libraries of the church. For though it appears that Henry directed a commission to Leland, the antiquary, to search for and preserve such works belonging to the dissolved monasteries as might rescue remarkable English events and occurrences from oblivion, and though Leland acquainted Henry that he had conserved many good authors, the which otherwise had been lyke to have perished, to the no small incommode of good letters; of which he tells him, part remayne in the most magnificent libraryes of your royal palaces; part also remayne in my custodie; yet he expressly recites that one of his purposes was to expel the crafty colored doctrine of a rowt of Romaine Bysshoppes’ which too plainly indicates that he conserved but little concerning ancient customs. * * * Libraries were sold by mercenary men for anything they could get in that devastation of religious houses. But the antiquary makes mention of a merchant who bought two noble libraries about those times for forty shillings. The

books served him for no other use but waste paper, and that he had been ten years consuming them, and yet there remained still store enough for as many years more. Vast quantities and numbers of these books, banished with the monks and friars from their monasteries, were conveyed away and carried beyond the seas to booksellers there by whole ship loads, and a great many more were used in shops and kitchens."¹

Having now briefly stated some of the facts concerning early books and Libraries, we shall be satisfied if we shall induce some abler writer to treat this interesting theme.

¹Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote. By C. H. Timperley. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1842. 8vo., p. 274.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

IN compliance with the By-Laws the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1888.

In his report for April, 1881, the Treasurer took occasion to give a list of the various funds in his charge and to state the objects for which they were established. Since then three new funds have been created, and he deems it desirable to again lay before the Council and the Society a statement of the several Funds :—

1. *The Librarian's and General Fund*, established in May, 1831, was originally called "The Twelve Thousand Dollar Fund," that being the amount of a legacy from Isaiah Thomas, the first President of the Society. The income of the Fund was to be used in the purchase of books, for paying the salary of the librarian and for incidental expenses. In 1858 about \$10,000 was carried to this Fund from what had been known as the General Fund, and for a time the Research Fund. Since that date the present name has been applied to the Fund. The last addition was in December, 1884, when \$10,000 was received from the estate of our late President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury. The Fund with its accumulations now amounts to nearly \$40,000.

2. *The Collection and Research Fund*, originally \$5,000, was also received from the estate of Mr. Thomas, and was first called "The Fund of Antiquities and Research," also the "Five Thousand Dollar Fund." It has been known by

its present designation since April, 1858, at which time it amounted to about \$8,000. The income is to be used for the purpose of exploring the ancient monuments of this continent, and to aid in increasing the library and cabinet. By the accumulation of income the Fund now amounts to over \$18,000.

3. *The Bookbinding Fund*, created by the gift of \$5,000 from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, in December, 1855, the income to be used for the binding of newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets, now amounts to \$6,472.97.

4. *The Publishing Fund*, established in 1858, and originally \$6,000, now amounts to \$20,290.36. Ten thousand dollars was added to this Fund in 1884, being a legacy from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, and the balance has been raised from time to time by voluntary subscriptions of members and others.

5. *The Salisbury Building Fund*, founded in October, 1867, by the gift of \$8,000 from Hon. Stephen Salisbury, had increased to about \$14,000 in 1877, when it was mostly expended in the extension of the Library building and the introduction of steam for heating. This fund, which is now \$5,000, was renewed a short time since by the son, a successor in office, of the original donor.

6. *The Isaac Davis Book Fund*, established by the gift of \$500, in January, 1868, from Hon. Isaac Davis, and by his subsequent gift of \$1,000, now amounts to \$1,589.45. By the terms of the gift the income of the fund "is to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States."

7. *The Lincoln Legacy Fund*, originally amounting to \$1,000, a legacy from the late Gov. Levi Lincoln, with its accumulations, now amounts to \$2,608.22. By the terms of the bequest the income is "to be expended as a premium for the writing of papers on archaeological subjects."

8. *The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund*, of

\$1,000, was established in February, 1879, by the receipt of that sum from the estate of Judge Thomas. The income of this fund is appropriated to the purchase of local histories.

9. *The Tenney Fund* was founded in March, 1881, by the bequest of \$5,000 from Joseph A. Tenney, of Worcester. No restrictions were placed upon the use of the income from this fund, on which account it has proved of great benefit to the Society, the income being applied where it was most needed.

10. *The Alden Fund* of \$1,000 was bequeathed to the Society in 1881, by Ebenezer Alden, M.D., the income thereof "to be expended for the benefit of the library, especially in preparing catalogues."

11. *The Haven Fund* was created in 1882, by the receipt of \$1,000, a bequest from Samuel F. Haven, LL.D., for many years the librarian of the Society. The income of this fund is to be appropriated to the purchase of books for the Haven alcove, already started by the gift of many valuable volumes, to which will be eventually added the entire library of Dr. Haven.

12. *The George Chandler Fund* was founded in 1884, by the gift of \$500 from George Chandler, M.D., of Worcester, the income to be used for "procuring works in genealogy and kindred subjects." At the same time Dr. Chandler also presented two hundred copies of his "Chandler Family," the sale of which will for a long time add to the income of the fund.

Under the direction of the Finance Committee the Treasurer has carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of each fund as it stood October 1, 1887.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1888, was \$104,381.31, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,967.98
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,060.44
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,472.97
The Publishing Fund,.....	20,290.36
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,589.45
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,608.22
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,124.63
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,172.47
The Alden Fund,.....	1,148.07
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,221.52
The George Chandler Fund,.....	533.77
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	524.47
	<hr/>
	\$104,381.31

The income of the Tenney Fund for the past six months has been transferred to the Librarian's and General Fund.

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$3,097.04.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1888, is as follows :

DR.

1887. Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$2,618.16
1888. April 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	3,096.79
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	75.00
" "	Received from sale of publications,.....	22.41
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,.....	180.10
" "	Received payment on notes,.....	1,050.00
		<hr/>
		\$7,042.46

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,599.98
By expense of repairs,.....	48.36
For publishing "Proceedings," etc.,.....	468.06
Loaned on note secured by mortgage,.....	1,000.00
Deposited in savings bank,.....	104.42
Books purchased,.....	48.40
For binding,.....	274.80
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	341.40
For insurance,.....	60.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,945.42
Balance in cash April 1, 1888,.....	3,097.04
	<hr/>
	\$7,042.46

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$39,963.66	
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	1,198.91	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00	
	<u>\$41,312.57</u>	
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,047.49	
Paid for coal,.....	167.25	
Incidental expenses,.....	129.85	
	<u>\$1,344.59</u>	
1888, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$39,967.98

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$18,001.43	
For books sold,.....	162.10	
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	540.04	
	<u>\$18,703.57</u>	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,..	653.13	
1888, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$18,050.44

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$6,551.24	
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	196.53	
	<u>\$6,747.77</u>	
Paid for binding,.....	274.80	
1888, April 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$6,472.97

The Publishing Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$20,131.95	
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	604.06	
Publications sold,.....	22.41	
	<u>\$20,758.42</u>	
Paid for printing Proceedings, etc.,.....	468.06	
Balance April 1, 1888,.....		\$20,290.36

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,567.43	
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	47.02	
	<u>\$1,614.45</u>	
Paid for books,.....	25.00	
Balance April 1, 1888,.....		\$1,589.45

1888.]

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The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$2,532.26
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	75.96
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$2,608.22

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,103.43
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	38.07
	\$1,136.50
Paid for books,.....	11.87
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,124.63

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$5,068.78
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	152.05
	\$5,220.83
Paid for repairs,.....	48.36
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$5,172.47

The Alden Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,114.65
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	33.42
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,148.07

The Tenney Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$5,000.00
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	150.00
	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$1,192.85
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	35.78
	\$1,228.63
Paid for books,.....	7.11
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,221.52

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance Oct. 1, 1887,.....	\$508.60
Income to April 1, 1888,.....	15.25
Chandler Genealogies sold,.....	18.00
	\$541.85
Paid for books,.....	8.08
Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$533.77

Total of the twelve funds,.....	\$103,179.88
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....	676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....	524.47
April 1, 1888, total,.....	\$104,381.31

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 881.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	2,992.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,.....	400.00	480.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,.....	600.00	900.00
2	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	515.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	3,840.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	642.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	675.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,.....	4,600.00	6,072.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,432.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,588.00
Total of Bank Stock,.....		\$23,000.00	\$29,227.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,200.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	750.00
BONDS.			
	Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,665.00
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,900.00
	Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,121.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	4,945.00
	Chicago, Santa Fé & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	3,120.00
	City of Chicago Bond,.....	1,000.00	1,000.00
	Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	43,050.00	43,050.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,434.27	3,434.27
	Cash,.....	3,097.04	3,097.04
		\$104,381.31	\$114,509.31

WORCESTER, Mass., April 10, 1888.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1888, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WILLIAM A. SMITH.
REUBEN COLTON.

WORCESTER, April 19, 1888.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THIS is the forty-first meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The first letter of invitation was addressed to Edward Everett, President of the former, May 25, 1847, by the lamented Asa Gray, Secretary of the latter; and the Society met for the first time in the rooms of the Academy, No. 7½ Tremont Street, on May-Day, 1848. During more than half this period it has been my privilege to act as the bearer of despatches between the two associations, and therefore an expression of our hearty thanks to the Academy may not seem to be out of place as an introduction to this report.

Nothing of very special moment has occurred in our library life since the October meeting. The extent and importance of our work, however, has made it a season of great activity and interest.

If time allowed, it would be interesting to cite numerous instances of Dr. Haven's careful and valuable entries and insertions found in our volumes, made in order to preserve the history of the very books themselves. Let me submit but two examples. In the year 1848 our associate, Mr. William F. Poole, issued what is now one of the rarest of first editions. Its full title is "An Alphabetical Index to Subjects treated in the Reviews and other Periodicals to which no Indexes have been published: Prepared for the Library of the Brothers in Unity, Yale College. *Qui scit ubi sit scientia, habenti est proximus.* New York: published by George P. Putnam (late of Wiley and Putnam), 155 Broadway and 142 Strand, London. 1848." 8vo.

pp. 155, paper cover. Our copy was received June 25, 1848, but it was preceded by a letter written to Mr. Haven by the author at Yale College, forty years ago the tenth instant, containing the following paragraphs :

“As you manifested some interest in the Index I am preparing for the Brothers Society, I send you our circular, *not* for the purpose of soliciting a subscription but to inform you more particularly of its character and progress. The work has been received, both here and in other institutions, with much more favor than I had expected. I have received letters from the Smithsonian Institution, Brown University, Dartmouth, Union, Hamilton and many other colleges ordering from twenty to fifty copies. The prospect now is that our whole edition (750) will not be enough to supply the demand abroad. If such is the case I shall enlarge the work and issue a second edition of some two hundred and fifty pages. There will perhaps be no demand for the work in Worcester ; if, however, any gentleman in Worcester desires one or more copies, I will furnish them (however small the number) at fifty cents.”

The second edition, an octavo of 521 pages, was published by Charles B. Norton of New York in 1853. The third edition, though a coöperative work, had Messrs. Poole and Fletcher for its sponsors, and we and they may readily believe that Judge Chamberlain's estimate of its value in the Boston Public Library is true of all libraries, namely, that it has increased the use of periodicals at least one hundred per cent. The work was published in 1882 by James R. Osgood and Company, and is an octavo of 1442 pages. It is announced that the quinquennial supplement will be issued as promised.

Again, in a letter from Dr. Daniel Wilson to Mr. Haven, March 24, 1868, he writes : “By-the-bye let me beg of you to set a good example, and print the word *prehistoric*, not *pre-historic*. As I believe the word was coined by me, for my *prehistoric annals of Scotland*, 1851, I may perhaps claim some voice in the matter. Lubbock, indeed, uses

the hyphen; but why pre-historic and not pre-judicial, pre-dispose, &c., &c." By this extract one is naturally reminded of Dr. Haven's remark upon the companion words archaeological and antiquarian, in his report of October, 1879. He said, some of you will remember:

"Antiquity is just now in fashion, and both associated and individual collectors of memorials of the past are multiplying everywhere. As archæology has become one of the most popular of the sciences, the term archaeological or its equivalent is often added to the name and style of societies organized for very different purposes. The word antiquary is losing its curiosity-shop associations and is gaining the prestige of signifying a scientific student of the origin and primitive history of the human race. When will the word antiquarian, used as a noun, be abolished? It has the sanction of Gibbon, the historian, but scholars should be more exact in their terms."

Your Librarian is moved to call your attention to a few errors with regard to our founder, which appeared in the Magazine of American History for January, 1887. They are to be found in the interesting and instructive illustrated article by Hon. Samuel G. W. Benjamin, entitled "A Group of Pre-Revolutionary Editors." The opening paragraph is as follows: "One of the most interesting among the figures of the Colonial period, as well as one of the most talented editors this country has produced, was Isaiah Thomas, who is well remembered for the almanac he founded, which is still published with his name and yet carefully studied, as it has been for five generations, by the farmers and fishermen of New England." The tribute is eminently fitting and true, but the author fails to distinguish—as others have failed—between "Thomas's Almanack," established at Boston by our founder, and first called by his name in 1775, and "The Farmers Almanac," the first number of which was issued by Robert B. Thomas at Boston in 1793. From first to last there was an orthographical distinction between them, namely, that one used

a final *k* in almanac and the other did not. A careful examination of our collection shows that in addition to the almanacs printed by Isaiah Thomas before 1775, but not bearing his name, "Thomas's Almanacks" were issued with some slight irregularity for forty-three years; twenty-six by the father, thirteen by the son, three by William Manning and one by George A. Trumbull; and that all, except the two editions of the first, were printed in Worcester. Titles of the first and last follow: "Thomas's New-England Almanack; or, the Massachusetts Calendar for the Year of our Lord Christ, 1775," and "Isaiah Thomas's Town and Country Almanack or Complete Farmer's Calendar for the Year of our Lord, 1820." While it is not always easy to follow our founder's life as an almanac maker, it may be said that there has been no break or change of name in the *Farmer's Almanac* of Robert B. Thomas. Although the latter died May 19, 1846, at the advanced age of four-score years, his address "To Patrons and Correspondents" still appears in the ninety-sixth issue for the year of our Lord 1888! The title of his first number is "The Farmer's Almanac, Calculated on a New and Improved Plan, For the Year of our Lord 1793." Boston has always been the place of publication. Mr. Benjamin's reference to Isaiah Thomas's "Wanderings from Nova-Scotia to the West-Indies" does not—according to Judge Thomas, who had before him our large collection of Thomas manuscripts—appear to be borne out by the facts. His first wife was indeed the daughter of Joseph Dill of the Isle of Bermuda, but he married her at Charleston, South Carolina. His grandson and biographer says: "Mr. Thomas had a plan of going to settle in the West Indies; it was nearly perfected, but his health failing, after a short tour among the Southern Colonies he came back to Boston in the spring of 1770." Again, Mr. Benjamin says: "On the 18th of April, Thomas engaged with Paul Revere and his associates in giving information of the march of the

British on Concord. After these transactions, he proceeded to Worcester, and four weeks later resumed the publication of the *Spy* in that city, where it has been published to this time, with the exception of the year 1776-7, when it was issued in Boston, and a temporary suspension in 1786, on account of the Stamp Act." In point of fact, after sending his press and types to Worcester the 16th, and the memorable service of his country the 18th and 19th, he took leave of his family at Watertown the 20th, and immediately set out afoot for Worcester, where two weeks later—not four as Mr. Benjamin has it—the patriot printer was again heard from through his chosen organ, the transplanted *Massachusetts Spy*. The statement that the *Spy* was, in 1776-7, printed in Boston, also requires correction. Mr. Thomas leased the *Spy* for one year to Messrs. William Stearns and Daniel Bigelow, and for the succeeding year to Anthony Haswell. The appearance of the paper remained unchanged, except that Thomas's name was omitted by Stearns and Bigelow from the engraved heading, leaving the title simply *The Massachusetts Spy*. Haswell's name appeared above the title during the year it was leased to him. It was not printed in Boston in those years. Exactly stated, the *Spy* was issued by Messrs. Stearns and Bigelow from June 21, 1776, to August 7, 1777, inclusive, and by Mr. Anthony Haswell from August 14, 1777, to June 18, 1778, inclusive. On the 25th of June,—the second lease having expired—it again became *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy or American Oracle of Liberty*, under the charge of its founder. "The temporary suspension in 1786 on account of the Stamp Act," mentioned by Mr. Benjamin, continued for two years, but in its place the *Worcester Magazine*, an octavo, was issued weekly, and as Judge Thomas truly says: "It was after all the *Spy* with a new name and form." It may be well to note that the last number of the *Spy*, issued before the suspension or change of form, was that for March 30,

1786, and the first number after its revival that for April 3, 1788. The first number of the *Worcester Magazine* was "for the first week in April," 1786, and the last "for the fourth week in March," 1788. Many advertisements appeared upon the cover and occasionally in the body of the magazine. It might be added that this periodical is rarely found in perfect condition. Even our founder's copy suffered from the cover stripping and the shears of the binder. Some of the covers which we have obtained and inserted contain lists of letters remaining in the Post-office, etc., emphasizing the great importance of retaining the covers of periodicals.

The statistics of our library's increase will be found satisfactory. We have received by gift eleven hundred and forty-eight books, thirty-eight hundred and forty pamphlets, one hundred and sixty files of newspapers, eight photographs, seven engravings, four maps, a mantel clock and collections of stamped envelopes and post-cards; by exchange one hundred and twenty-seven books and ninety pamphlets; and from our binders seventy-seven volumes of newspapers; making an aggregate of twelve hundred and seventy-five books, thirty-nine hundred and thirty pamphlets, seventy-seven bound and one hundred and sixty volumes of unbound newspapers, eight photographs, seven engravings and four maps. Your attention is called to the list of Donors and Donations which accompanies and makes a part of this report, and includes the names of forty members, one hundred and two persons not members and seventy-six societies and institutions, a total of two hundred and eighteen sources of accessions. A few special obligations are noted as follows: President Salisbury's gifts include numbers of his Yucatecan reprints to fill orders, with a partial set of Dodsley's Annual Register in fine binding. Vice-President Hoar, with his Marietta Address, gives a large collection of Congressional Globes and other government publications, to fill gaps. Mr. Robert Clarke

remembers us by sending material peculiarly appropriate to the Ohio year, including the exhaustive "Life, Journal and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D."; and our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, with his regular contribution, presents two of his photographs of our cast of the Labna Portal, one of which was heliotyped to accompany Mr. Thompson's "Account" in the last Proceedings. Dr. John S. Newberry has forwarded a partial collection of his own publications, and President Daniel C. Gilman a large number of those of Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson carefully gathered for the purpose. Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis's gift is, as usual, of a high order, being a fine copy from the Chiswick Press of "The Court Records of the East India Company, 1599-1603." Capt. Henry S. Nourse presents the History of the Fifty-fifth Illinois Regiment, which was in greater part written by him, and of which he was the editor. We should not be without the war record of all our members, whether of the Union or Confederate armies. Mr. J. Evarts Greene has added to his other favors a large collection of American magazines in fine condition. We earnestly solicit others of a like character from our members and friends, for our alcoves of periodicals. Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis has promptly forwarded his "Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1629-1685," a subject which he has made a life study; and Mr. James F. Hunnewell his History of Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1775-1887, fully illustrated. Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige and Hon. Edward L. Davis have sent—with other reminders of their interest—portraits for our gallery of members, while Hon. Samuel A. Green has added to his usual donations a fine engraving from the Massachusetts Historical Society's copy of Huntington's portrait of their ex-president, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. Mr. Clinton M. Dyer has presented, "with the hope that it may for a century to come be of service to the Society," a valuable mantel clock made about one hun-

dred years ago by David Wood of Newburyport. It was for many years in the possession of Hon. Daniel Waldo, one of our early and faithful members, and is therefore an especially appropriate gift. Mr. Levi Holbrook, executor of the Gale estate in Northborough, has sent us a colored crayon sketch of Harvard College at the opening of the nineteenth century, with early historical pamphlets. Mr. Alfred S. Roe adds to early New England imprints material relating to slavery and rebellion, while General Henry R. Jackson forwards a contribution to the Confederate side of the war discussion. Mr. Thomas A. Fletcher, at the suggestion of Hon. Theodore C. Bates, places his "Descendants of Robert Fletcher of Concord, Massachusetts," in our alcove of genealogy. Colonel George W. Williams, who has spent some months with us collecting manuscript material for an extended History of the Negro Race, has given us his History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-65. While the volume was received during the month of October, 1887, it bears the imprint of 1888, a printer's license which in the interest of exact truth should not be encouraged. Mr. Hamilton Bullock Tompkins sends his "Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana" substantially upon the plan of Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana. We have been glad to serve both of these gentlemen in their praiseworthy work. In answer to a circular from Messrs. H. V. and H. W. Poor enquiring for our wants of their Manuals of the Railroads of the United States, valuable additions have been made to our set, in return for which we at once sent them all our duplicate manuals for re-distribution. It is pleasant to find this desire to complete library sets extending to the enterprising publishers of such annuals. We express our gratitude to Mrs. Sophia H. Holmes for a copy of the rare, ten-volume, Geneva edition of 1781 of Abbé Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, etc., and to Señor Antonio Fajardo for a manuscript Maya Catechism of early

date. Special thanks are due for large donations, to the Worcester Free Public Library and to the Merrick Library of Brookfield, as well as to the New York Academy of Sciences—successor of the old Lyceum of Natural History of New York—and the California Historical Society of recent birth. We wish to thank all persons who, in the interest of local history, have aided us in securing Church manuals, year-books and periodicals, and to urge the great importance of their publication and preservation.

The gift to this Society by the will of our late associate, Hon. Francis H. Dewey, is, like his many other bequests, wise and timely. We already have kindred funds, bearing the honored names of Chandler, Davis, Haven and Thomas, which remind us of the good works both of the living and of the dead, and are therefore doubly suggestive.

In closing these special acknowledgments I venture to suggest the need of a Society book-plate for use in all gift books not otherwise provided. With the name of the donor and date of receipt thereon and the addition of our property stamp, our duty to them and to posterity will be more surely performed, while their history as well as safety will be better secured.

Our exchanges have sometimes brought us larger but seldom better returns. The rarest work received in this way since our last report is Visconti's "*Iconographie Ancienne Grecque et Romaine*," etc., seven volumes, folio, Didot, Paris, 1808-26. It was undertaken by order of Bonaparte, who distributed the limited edition, continued after the same general plan by Louis XVIII., and concluded by Charles X. The engravings of busts, portraits, medals, etc., which are of a high order, are about one hundred and twenty-five in number.

In my report of April, 1884, certain documents bearing date of 1852 were submitted, showing the interest of this Society in the establishment of a Worcester Public Library, and Mr. Salisbury's desire that it should find its first home

under our roof. Eight years later no one questioned the statement made by Mr. Delano A. Goddard in his report to the Worcester Lyceum and Library Association in April, 1860, that "If any citizen is assured that it is entirely safe to trust undeveloped intelligence and virtue without available incentives to their development his faith is certainly without knowledge." Since then the movement toward the formation of public and association libraries has been rapid and almost uninterrupted. But it should be added, to the credit of some of the early members of this Society, that thirty years before the date first mentioned, plans were formed for a circulating library to supplement this library of reference. The result was the formation of "The Worcester County Athenæum," and its incorporation March 12, 1830, with the intention of forming a full library for general use. William Lincoln, the historian and librarian, says: "Thirty-four proprietors purchased shares at the price of twenty-five dollars each subject to an annual assessment of two dollars," and that "about three thousand volumes of works of general literature have been gathered, making a foundation for an extensive collection in future time;" that "The library is now kept in one of the rooms of Antiquarian Hall, appropriated for the purpose," and that "The Rev. George Allen has been President: Frederick W. Paine, Treasurer: and William Lincoln Secretary from the organization." With the exception of a few such books as were deposited by persons not members of this Society and subject to recall, the library gradually came into our possession. In gratitude for this important gift, which I believe has never before been formally acknowledged, I desire to call your attention to a few facts showing how the movement originated and how it was forwarded. They must necessarily be gathered from the press of the period, as the records do not appear to have been preserved. The *Massachusetts Spy* of August 19, 1829, remarks, that "Whenever we

are disposed to avail ourselves of our local situation we shall find it is not without its advantages, and that abundant facilities at this moment present themselves, to justify the commencement of the great work of laying the foundations of an extensive public library to be situated in some central place in this vicinity." Then follows in the issue of November 4, 1829: "After the adjournment of the Lyceum, on Wednesday last, pursuant to notice given at the close of the address in the meeting house, a public meeting was held to consider the expediency of adopting measures to establish a public library for the County of Worcester." A committee was appointed to report at Thomas's Coffee-House on the evening of December 10, 1829. The *Concord Gazette* of November 11, 1829, says: "We take the liberty to suggest that the *Library ought to be located in Boston* where it would be much more accessible to nine-tenths of the people than if placed anywhere within their own county." The meeting which took definite action in the matter is thus reported in the *National Ægis* of December 16, 1829:

"In pursuance of public notice a meeting of those friendly to a public Library was held at Mr. Thomas's Coffee House on the evening of Thursday last. Hon. Nathaniel P. Denney of Leicester was called to the chair, and Emory Washburn, Esq., was chosen Secretary. The number of gentlemen present was large and highly respectable. The object of the meeting having been stated by the chairman, the report of the committee raised at the meeting in November to devise a plan for effecting the establishment of the proposed library, the chairman of whom was Isaac Goodwin, Esq., was read. The report stated in substance that it was recommended to raise money for the purchase of books by shares: that these shares should be twenty-five dollars each and that when the sum of five hundred dollars should be subscribed in this way, a meeting of the subscribers should be called and regulations for the government of the Association drawn up and adopted. The report was accepted, and a committee appointed, composed of Rev. Mr. Nelson of

Leicester, Rev. Mr. Allen of Shrewsbury, Ira Barton, Esq., of Oxford, George A. Tufts, Esq., of Dudley, Joseph Willard, Esq., of Lancaster, Frederick W. Paine and William Lincoln, Esqrs., of Worcester, to act in pursuance of the measures recommended. The Association to be called the Worcester County Athenæum. The place of its meetings, and of deposit of its library are to be determined on by the foregoing committee. A lively interest was manifested by those present at the meeting. The objects and purposes of the Association were fully and ably discussed, and its importance and utility strongly urged. And as evidence of the sincerity of those who professed themselves the friends and patrons of the Association upwards of four hundred dollars were subscribed on the evening of the meeting."

While ours is a national society, and the Worcester County Athenæum was a strictly local association, I need make no apology, under the circumstances, for thus placing on record the foregoing items of special historic interest to us.

We do not forget that our fellow-member, Senator Hoar, was wisely selected as the orator on occasion of the celebration of the Centennial of the Founding of the Northwest at Marietta, Ohio, April 7, 1778. Of his scholarly and patriotic address on that occasion I need not remind you, but his very recognition of the great historic value of our material used in its preparation, suggests a present work of preservation in our treasure-house which we are in duty bound to consider. Our Society will not fail, at this celebration period, to receive honorable mention for its early and valuable archæological and historical service in connection with the great Ohio country.

Reference may be made to an interesting sale at Webster, Mass., November 22, 1887, of a remnant of about twenty-five acres of land belonging to the Dudley Indians. As is well known they were of the family of Nipmucks, or as they were sometimes called Pegans, in the midst of whose once extensive lands this Society later established

its home, and from whose camping grounds many of our collection of stone implements were obtained. This sale has not only called attention to their rights and wrongs, but is also important from an historical point of view. The marked interest which this Society has always felt in the history and language of the red man is shown both in its own publications and in the valuable contributions of its members to this most interesting study, and is, perhaps, a sufficient excuse for this brief mention.

The compensations of a librarian's life are neither few nor far to seek. One of the most delightful is that he deals with scholars, and as Richter truly says, "A scholar has no ennui." And further than this, he is in the right school, for, according to "Owen Meredith," "It is, however, not to the museum or the lecture room, or to the drawing school, but to the library that we must go for the completion of our humanity." Following the same figure, it is a great pleasure to be able to say of our own school-house—especially after the severe test of the past winter—that teachers, scholars and casual visitors have continued to enjoy a genial and safe atmosphere, which the introduction of modern methods of heating, lighting, *et cetera*, have made possible.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

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SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE.—Their Bulletin, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Their publications, as issued.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their *Archæologia*, Vol. L., Part 2.

SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE INDIANS AND OTHERS IN NORTH AMERICA.—Their Centennial History, 1787-1887.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Their Sixteenth Biennial Report; and their Record, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Their Proceedings, as issued.

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—The "Travelers' Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Ninety books; and fifty-nine pamphlets.

WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY.—Two books of early date.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Eight hundred and forty-nine books; thirteen hundred and thirty-one pamphlets; and one hundred and twenty files of newspapers.

WORCESTER LUNATIC HOSPITAL, TRUSTEES OF.—Their Fifth Annual Report.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—The New York Evening Post, in continuation.

WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE.—The Eighteenth Annual Report.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—Two pamphlets.

NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY GEORGE H. MOORE.

THE contemporary literature of witchcraft in Massachusetts was not copious, and its remains in the original publications are among the rarest of the rare "Americana" so eagerly sought by the diligent collectors of our day: the least valuable of them readily commanding a great price. I doubt whether any single library, even in Massachusetts, public or private, contains them all—and it is quite certain that some of these precious little volumes are not to be found beyond the limits of the commonwealth.

The order and time of the composition and publication of these works are very important in the history of the witchcraft delusion. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Parris unquestionably told the truth, when, after all was done and the great reaction had put him on the defensive, he said that in the "dark and difficult dispensations" from which they had emerged: "*We have been all or most of us of one mind for a time: and afterwards of differing apprehensions.*"—*Calef*: 57. The substantial unanimity of the magistrates and ministers at the outset gave fatal force to the popular delusion, in which they shared and do not seem to have faltered until their own hearths and homes were invaded or threatened by the malignant spirits whom they themselves had armed with the power to destroy. It has been claimed that many in both these "orders of men" were hostile to the proceedings from the beginning; but no record appears of any such opposition, and not a line or word of contemporary protest, or evidence that there was any, excepting the "very

high reflections upon the administration of public justice" for which William Milborne, "the Anabaptist Minister," was promptly arrested and held to bail, immediately after the first session of the Special Court and the execution of its first victim.

To-day (November 3, 1885) I have for the first time taken notice of the following paper, although it was printed in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register* so long ago as January, 1873, vol. xxvii., 55. It appears there as one of two manuscripts communicated by the late J. Wingate Thornton. He described it as "a copy of the writing sent out for signatures by persons opposed to the further prosecution of the suspected witches."

To the Grave and Juditious ye Generall Assembly of the Province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New-England the humble petitions of several Inhabitants of the Province afore^d may it please the honorable Assembly that whereas several persons of good fame and of unspotted reputation stand committed to several gaols in this Province upon suspition of sundry acts of witchcraft only upon bare specter testimonie many whereof we cannot but in Charity Judge to be Innocent and are sensible of their great Affliction and if sd. specter testimonie pass for evidence have great grounds to fear that the Innocent will be condemned upon ———. A woeful chain of consequences will undoubtedly follow besides the uncertaintie of y^e exemption of any person from ye like accusation in ye said Province—the serious consideration whereof we HAVE HUMBLY TENDERED TO YOU IN OUR HUMBLE ADDRESS IN ANOTHER PAPER; such peculiar matter of fact therein asserted and we have sufficient testimonie ready to aver ye same: therefore request that ye validitie of specter Testimonie may be weighed in ye balance of your grace [grave] and solid Judgments it being the womb that hath brought forth inextricable damage and miserie to this Province and to order by your votes that no more credence be given thereto than the word of God alloweth by which means God will be glorified their Majesties honored and the Interest and welfare

of the Inhabitants of ye Province promoted and your Petitioners in duty boune shall dayly pray.¹

This document is very important. It is evidently one of the papers for writing and publishing which William Milborne was arrested and held on the 25th of June, 1692, to answer at the next Superior Court. Already, as Calef tells us, "the Devil's Testimony, by the supposed Afflicted had so prevailed, as to take away the Life of one, and the Liberty of an Hundred, and the whole Country set into a most dreadful consternation;" and the ministers in and near Boston had given their advice, "ushered in with thanks for what was already done, and in conclusion, putting the Government upon a speedy and vigorous prosecution according to the Laws of God and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation."—*Calef*: 153.

Sometime during the summer of 1692 the following pamphlet was printed in Boston :

"A Brief and True | Narrative | of some Remarkable Passages Relating to sundry Persons | Afflicted by | Witchcraft | at | Salem Village : | Which happened from the Nineteenth of March to the | Fifth of April, 1692. | Collected by Deodat Lawson.² | Boston, Printed for Benjamin Harris and are to be sold at his | Shop, over against the Old Meeting-House. 1692."

On the back of this title appears the following notice :

"The Bookseller to the Reader.

"The Ensuing Narrative being, a Collection of some Remarkables, in an Affair now upon the Stage, made by a credible Eye-Witness, is now offered unto the Reader, only as a Tast, of more that may follow in God's Time. If the Prayers of Good People may obtain this Favour of God, That the Misterious Assaults from Hell, now made upon so many of our Friends may be thoroughly Detected and

¹ This document was directed against the spectre testimony—Is it not probable that the other challenged the constitution of the Court? If not, wherein were "the very high reflections upon the administration of public justice"?

² See Appendix: I.

Defeated, we suppose the Curious will be Entertained with as Rare an History as perhaps an Age has had; whereof this Narrative is but a Forerunner. Benjamin Harris."

I suppose this quarto pamphlet of ten pages (page 10 c¹ not numbered) including title leaf, to have been the first publication relating to the Witchcrafts in Salem; and I cannot resist the impression upon reading it, that it was promoted by Cotton Mather and that he wrote the "Book-seller's" notice "to the Reader."

Whether this opinion is well founded or not, there is no doubt about "*The Wonders of the Invisible World*"—which was apparently the next publication from the Boston press relating to the history of the great delusion.

Before this appeared, however, William Bradford's press in Philadelphia or his imprint had been brought into requisition in the production of a pamphlet entitled: Some Miscellany | Observations | On our present Debates respecting | Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue | Between S. & B. | — | By P. E. and J. A. | Philadelphia, | Printed by William Bradford, for Hezekiah Usher, | 1692. | 4to, pp. 16.¹

It became known subsequently that the author of this anonymous tract was no less a person than the Rev. Samuel Willard,² the famous minister of the Old South Church in

¹ It must have been printed before October, 1692, for Bradford's "Tooles and Letters" had been seized by the "Rulers" in Pennsylvania in the latter part of August or beginning of September, and were not restored to him until after the 27th April in the following year, when he had become the official printer of the government in New York under the patronage of Governor Fletcher.—*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania: Colonial Records*: i. 326, 327. Willard's tract bears internal evidence of having been written after the 19th of July, perhaps a month or two later. Calef says that it was at one of the trials at the end of June that the author was cried out upon by the afflicted. Was it not printed in Boston—and the imprint a fictitious one? Was not Hezekiah Usher at that time a fugitive, as well as P. E. and J. A.? A careful examination of the typography confirms my doubt that it was printed from Bradford's types.

² Calef's book is the earliest authority for attributing the pamphlet to Willard. Some of the later critics have fortified Calef by the supplementary though not complimentary allusions of Cotton Mather—all which was quite unnecessary at any time since the publication of Willard's *Body of Divinity* in 1726, in which a "Catalogue of the Author's Works, published in his Life time" was printed, and the "Miscellany Observations" appears in its due place and order.

Boston, who had himself been pointed out as one to be suspected of this great transgression which was threatening the destruction of New England.

It is a signal illustration of the terrorism which prevailed at the time in Massachusetts, that a man of his reputation and influence dared not avow his sentiments in public, and was obliged to seek, or pretend to seek, the press in a distant colony for their anonymous publication. A sermon of his has been preserved, which was preached in Boston on the 27th of November in that year, and printed soon afterwards, in which he gave "rules for the discerning of the present Times" "recommended to the people of God, in New England." The reader may seek in vain for any allusion to the topic which was uppermost in every mind at that period. Not a line, not a word about the awful storm which had just passed—the nearest approach to the subject being in these statements: "*It is now certainly an evil day with this People: it is beyond question a time of trouble.*"—*Sermon* (in Prince Collection), p. 13. No hint of its cause or its cure accompanied this emphatic recognition of the time of trouble.

The influence of the *Miscellany Observations* has been greatly exaggerated in later times by writers who would exalt its author or mitigate the judgment taken against the ministers and magistrates who had been chiefly responsible. It is unnecessary to dwell on the facts, that it could have had no influence upon the trials at Salem; and that as to any personal enforcement of its doctrines by the author, it was not until four years afterwards that face to face with the Governor, Council and Assembly upon a set day of prayer in the east end of the old Court House, he "*spoke smartly AT LAST about the Salem witchcrafts,*" and reproved the government, "*that no order had been suffered to come forth by Authority to ask God's pardon.*"—*Sewall's Diary*.

The subsequent criticism of Robert Calef distinctly indicated the true inwardness of the *Miscellany Observations*

and their author's relation to the events of that time. Calef's letter to Willard (September 20, 1695) is one of the rough diamonds of his marvellous book, and it is not difficult to find in his searching strictures the occasion of the fierce wrath of Cotton Mather, as he repeats and records the reply, which he attributes to Willard, referring Calef to Proverbs: xxvi. 4, for his answer. We cannot wonder at the sensitiveness of the actors in those scenes; for even to this day, their exhibition in the daylight of historical criticism provokes hereditary and partisan resentment.

It should not be forgotten here that Willard left a record of his deliberate and final judgment in this matter. In a sermon preached at his Tuesday lecture, January 8, 1706, he said in discussing the value of Testimony—"all Testimony of Credit is either Divine or Humane: As to *Diabolical Testimony*, there is no such Credit to be allowed it as to determine a Judgment upon one accused; and *I believe that the over Credit given to it, especially in matters of Witchcraft, hath taken away the lives of the Innocent, and left a Publick Guilt and Blot behind it, not Time, but only Repentance will wipe off.*"—*B. of D.*, 727.

The curious reader may also find in the same sermon a reproduction of a part of the arguments of the *Miscellany Observations*, in which he will not fail to notice the singular illustration of the "Lions in *Africa*."—*Cf. Miscellany Observations: page 6, and B. of D.*, 727.

It is hardly necessary to add that if the arguments of his anonymous pamphlet or the later sermon just referred to had been uttered from his pulpit at any time before the end of the year 1692, the character of him given in his funeral sermon by Ebenezer Pemberton would have been more abundantly justified.

"And it ought never to be forgotten with what Prudence, Courage and Zeal he appeared for the Good of this People, *In that Dark and Mysterious Season*, when we were assaulted from the Invisible World. And how singularly

Instrumental he was in discovering the cheats and delusions of Satan, which did threaten to stain our Land with Blood and to deluge it with all manner of Woes."—*Funeral Sermon*: 1707, p. 74.

The Reverend John Hale, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Beverly, Anno Domini 1697, furnished perhaps the most conspicuous instance of the change in opinion produced by the personal approach of the diabolical witnesses. Cotton Mather made a characteristic record of it. "None can suspect a Gentleman so full of Dissatisfaction at the proceedings then used against the supposed *witchcrafts*, as now that Reverend Person is, to be a *Superstitious Writer* upon that Subject."—*Magnalia*: vii: 82.

The great book of the Witchcraft Time in Massachusetts, however, is Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*—the most extraordinary production of that extraordinary man, written in the height of the delusion, or as he himself says, "in the *highest Ferment* of those Troubles."—*Some Few Remarks*: etc., 1701, p. 38.

The earliest positive record we have of the history of the book is in the author's letter of September 20, to his "dear and very obliging Stephen" Sewall, Clerk of the Special Court at Salem, in which he renewed his "most importunate request" previously made for aid in furnishing materials; and the service is enforced by the statement that the work has been commanded by the Governor.¹ The Diary

¹The late Rev. Charles W. Upham was of the opinion that this must have been Stoughton, who was Acting Governor in the absence of Phips. Mr. Upham made what he regarded as a conclusive demonstration of this fact, in his reply to Mr. W. F. Poole, in 1869. Being obliged, however, to use the MS. of his chief authority, Sewall's Diary, one notice escaped him, which would have made his argument complete, viz.: "Thursday, Sept. 29th, . . . Governor comes to Town." He had been absent on this occasion about a fortnight—for he was present at a meeting of the Council on the 16th of September, when it was announced that "He intended this day to set saile for Pemaquid."—*Council Records*, vol. ii. Governor Phips, however, was present at Council meetings June 13, 18; July 4, 8, 15, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26; September 5, 12, 16; October 14, 22, 26.—*Ib.*

of Chief Justice Sewall (brother of the clerk) reveals the conference on the 22d September at his house in Boston with reference to the proposed book.

“Thursday, Sept. 22, 1692. William Stoughton, Esq., John Hathorne, Esq., Mr. Cotton Mather, and Capt. John Higginson, with my brother St., were at our house, speaking about publishing some Trials of the Witches.”—*Sewall*: i., 365.

It was the day of the last executions at Salem.

Mather had the reputation of “having a talent for sudden composures;” and he seems to have prepared the manuscript of this book with great promptness. A large part was evidently ready to his hand. Besides his “Breviate of the Tryals” at Salem which he selected, five out of the whole number of twenty-eight—the Abstract of Mr. Perkins’s Way for the Discovery of Witches and the Sum of Mr. Gaule’s Judgment about the Detection of Witches; the Narrative of the Boston Apparition, which appeared there at the same hour by the clock that the Murder took place in London (without any allowance for difference in longitude); the Witch Trial by Sir Matthew Hale; the Extracts from Dr. Horneck concerning “Witchcrafts at Mohra in Sweedland;” were all at his fingers’ ends: and the Sermon from 2 Corinthians ii: 11, “The Devil Discovered,” at the end of the book, bears internal evidence of having been written and preached by him when he was able to say to his hearers: “Perhaps there are few persons ever allured by the Devil unto an Explicit Covenant with himself. If any among ourselves be so, my counsel is that you hunt the Devil from you,” etc. This must have been before the time when “An Army of *Devils* horribly broke in upon the place which is the *Centre* and after a sort, the *First-Born* of our *English Settlements*: * * * and more than one *Twenty* have confessed, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil show’d them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land.”

A more ominous piece of literary patchwork was never executed. It was too late to accomplish the purpose for which it was designed; but it tells the tale of delusion so plainly that it cannot be misunderstood. Its purpose was avowed. All the bloody work of the Special Court had been finished; and the reaction in popular sentiment had begun—when Cotton Mather wrote these words:—

“If in the midst of *the many Dissatisfactions among us*, the Publication of these Tryals may promote such a *Pious Thankfulness unto God, for Justice being so far executed among us*, I shall rejoice that God is Glorified; and pray, that no wrong steps of ours may ever sully any of his Glorious Works.”

Mather himself, in one of his Diaries still extant, refers to the composition and publication of his book “diverse Times reprinted at London,” and speaks of it as “that Reviled Book” about which he received “great encouragement from some Reverend Persons. One says ‘*I think never Book came out more seasonably; and I give thanks to o^r gracious God, for His Assistance of you, both in matter and manner;*’ and now another sais ‘*I solemnly profess, without y^e least Adulation, I never mett with an Humane Author in my Life that spake more solidly and thoroughly to the subject hee handled; and if every one that Reads do not close with it, I shall fear gross Ignorance, Inveterate prejudice, or a Pœnal stroke of God is y^e cause thereof.*’ The Shield given by y^e Lieut. Governour of y^e Province under w^{ch} that Book is walked abroad is enough, and I confess, too much.

“I mention these Vindictory passages, only for some Ease of my own mind, under y^e many *Buffetting Temptations* w^{ch} attended y^e publication of that book.”

Writing at a subsequent date, he adds, on the same page:—

“Upon y^e severest examination, and y^e solemnest Supplication, I still think, that for y^e main, I have *Written Right.*”

The manuscript of the work was evidently completed before the end of October.¹ The testimony of Stoughton and Sewall to the fidelity of "the Reverend and Worthy Author" in its execution, is dated on the 11th of October; and that the former had "perused it" before the end of the same month is evident from the prefatory letter, in which he particularly and earnestly requested that it should be committed to the press. His superior in office however, Governor Phips, promptly, on or before the 14th of October, "put a stop to the printing of any discourses one way or other, that may increase the needless disputes of people upon this occasion, because I saw a likelihood of kindling an inextinguishable flame if I shall admit any open and public contests, and I have grieved to see that some who should have done their Majesties and this Province better service have so far taken Council of Passion as to desire the precipitancy of these matters."

Although it is stated on the back of the title as issued that it was "Published by the Special Command of his Excellency the Governour of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," I have discovered no record of the time when this restraint upon the press was relaxed; neither do I know whether at that time or subsequently, the book of the "Wonders" was specially exempted from its operation. It is certain, however, that it was not printed immediately; and the result of these researches will show that the Boston edition and the London edition were issued at about the same time, in the latter part of December, 1692, so that the latter must have been printed from a duplicate copy of the original manuscript, which must have been forwarded to England soon after its completion in October. The author looked forward with eager anticipa-

¹ Internal evidence that he was engaged in writing it "about the beginning of October" appears on page 143 of the original edition; 45 of the first English edition; 37 of the second; 39 of the third; and 163 of the John Russell Smith edition of 1890.

tion to the sensation his book was likely to make on the other side of the water; for he tells us in his preliminary defence—"I have herein also aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another Country, a thousand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, more, or however, more considerable Friends, than in my own: And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the best Terms with my own."

His son in writing the biography, which was made up almost entirely of extracts from his diary, says, "he did not think it sufficient to be useful and active at home: he was for appearing publickly, and to the *European World*."—*Life: by Samuel Mather: 48.*

There being no newspapers in the country at that time, few publications were advertised at all, and the scanty notices upon the otherwise empty pages at the beginning and end of some volumes were supplemented by the use of the Almanac as the principal organ for advertising.

In *Tully's Almanack* for 1693, printed about the close of the year 1692, appears at the end, after "Finis," the following

"ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is now Published, a Work Entituled, The Wonders of the Invisible World; which besides many other grateful entertainments gives an Account of the grievous molestations by Devils & Witchcrafts now annoying the Country; as also the Trials of some that have been Executed on occasion hereof; with many Remarkable Observations relating to those Affairs, And some Seasonable Charitable and Humble Proposals for the Prevention of the Mischiefs therein threatened, unto all sorts of Persons among us.

Sold by *Benjamin Harris.*"¹

Tully's Almanacks began with January from and after the year 1687.

In the same publication, the Laws, etc., of the Second Sessions are advertised as being now in the Press. That

¹ A variation is to be noted in the title of this edition. The imprint in one is "Boston, Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Harris, 1693." In another, "Boston Printed by Benj. Harris for Sam. Phillips 1693." Mr. John A. Lewis called attention to this variation by a note in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register: xxvii., 311.*

session ended on the 16th of December, which is also the date of Governor Phips's order to print them.

The statement of the existence of a copy with the date 1692, rests on the title¹ given in the Catalogue of the American Antiquarian Society, printed in 1837—the entry in Dr. Dexter's Bibliography having been copied from that without examination of the book—which had disappeared (if it ever existed) so early as to have no number or check against it in the working office copy of that printed catalogue itself. Excepting that printed title, neither the records nor traditions of the Antiquarian Society preserve the knowledge of any copy of the Wonders belonging to it, until the late Mr. Haven bought the Brinley copy, which was the first London edition, at the sale in March, 1880.

There is a curious tract of eight pages in the form of a letter, signed "C. M.," with the place and date "*Salem, 8th Month, 1692*," which demands notice here. The title is as follows: A | True Account | of the | Tryals, Examinations, | Confessions, Condemnations, | and Executions of divers | Witches, | at Salem, in New England, | for | Their Bewitching of sundry People and Cattel | to Death, and doing other great Mischiefs, | to the Ruine of many People about them. | With | the Strange Circumstances that attended | their Enchantments: | And | Their Conversation with Devils, and other | Infernal Spirits. | In a Letter to a Friend in London. | Licensed according to Order. | London. Printed for J. Conyers, in Holbourn. | This tract is included in Mr. Sibley's list of Mather's works, in which it appears as No. 40.

It requires little examination to prove that this tract was not written by Cotton Mather. Indeed, there was never any ground for attributing it to him, excepting that the initials of his name appear at the end of it. I have no

¹This title may have been derived from the list given by Samuel Mather at the end of his *Life of Cotton Mather*, which is notoriously inaccurate in respect to the dates of publication.

doubt whatever that it was compiled, as well as printed in England—a bookseller's catchpenny, stolen mainly from the *Wonders of the Invisible World* and issued early in 1693, shortly after the publication of that book in London. The compiler has nearly obliterated every characteristic of the author's peculiar and unmistakable style of composition—but there is no difficulty in making out the source of his materials for the work. It is of no historical value whatever; unless its extreme rarity makes it important to prove its own contents. If its title only had survived, we might have continued to lament the loss of the pamphlet, and vainly tried to imagine what might have been in it.¹

The publication of Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World* was speedily followed by his father's *Cases of Conscience, &c.*, "which" (to use the son's phrase), "came abroad just after it." The work is dated at the end, on page 67, "*Boston, New England, Octob. 3. 1692,*" and is concluded by "The Contents" and a Postscript which refers to "the Book newly published by my Son," which he "perused, and approved of before it was printed." It has an address or epistle at the beginning, to the "Christian Reader," signed by fourteen of the ministers, which was written by Samuel Willard.² The imprint is "BOSTON Printed, and Sold by *Benjamin Harris* at the London Coffee-House. 1693."

In this book the author declared his purpose to issue another work: He says, "The Design of the preceding *Dissertation*, is not to plead for Witchcrafts, or to appear as an Advocate for Witches: I have therefore written another Discourse, proving that there are such horrid

¹The earliest trace I have met with of this tract was its title in Stevens's *Nuggets*, priced at two guineas. That copy was sold at auction in London, March, 1861, fetching twelve guineas. The copy I use belongs to the collection of Mr. John Nicholas Brown of Providence, who most kindly placed it in my hands for my present purpose.

²"Oct. 11, 1692. . . . Read Mr. Willard's Epistle to Mr. Mather's Book, as to Cases of Conscience touching Witchcraft."—*Sewall's Diary*: i., 367.

creatures as Witches in the World ; and that they are to be extirpated and cut off from amongst the People of God, which I have Thoughts and Inclinations in due time to publish ; and I am abundantly satisfied that there have been, and are still most cursed Witches in the Land."

We know that Sir William Phips's letter of the 14th of October was sent by the captain of the *Samuel and Henry*, which must have sailed from New England soon after that date. Cotton Mather's manuscript "Wonders" undoubtedly went by the same conveyance to his English correspondent. The *Samuel and Henry* arrived at Spithead with her convoy from New England of some ships laden with naval stores, on the 10th of December, 1692.—*The London Gazette*: No. 2826. December 8th to December 12th, 1692. The "Imprimatur" of Edmund Bohun in the first English edition of the "Wonders" is dated December 23, 1692 ; and there can be no doubt that it was put to press immediately by the enterprising publisher to whom it had been entrusted. That publisher was John Dunton, the famous "Athenian" bookseller, whose published writings furnish some of the most interesting illustrations extant of the society and manners of Boston toward the end of the seventeenth century. He was a resident in New England during several months in 1686. After his return to London, it is evident that he had some correspondence with the Mathers and others during many years and, as we shall see, spoke with authority of some of the vouchers for the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. *Post*: p. 260. *Christian's Gazette*: 1713.

Dunton always manifested a great reverence and regard for the Apostle to the Indians, John Eliot.

Among the numerous literary enterprises of Dunton, he issued one of the earliest English Reviews. Book notices with some essays at criticism appear in his *Athenian Mercury*; and in 1692, he began the publication of "The

Compleat Library: or, News for the Ingenious. Containing an Historical Account of the Choicest Books newly Printed in England, and in the Forreign Journals. As also, The State of Learning in the World. To be published Monthly. By a London Divine, &c." The first number was that for May, 1692, and that for December of the same year, which was the first of the second volume, published on the 9th of January, 1693, contained an article of more than eight pages, devoted to the "Wonders of the Invisible World." The *News of Learning for December, 1692*, with which the same number concluded: reported that "There will likewise be speedily published * * * a new Treatise Concerning *Witchcraft*, occasioned by the late Tryals of several Witches in *New England*, composed by Mr. *Increase Mather*, and stored with arguments and undeniable instances of the Real Being and mischievous acting of *Witches* against the contrary assertions of our *Modern Sadducees*." Vol. ii., 72.

This may have been the work before referred to which seems never to have seen the light.

On Saturday, December 24, 1692, John Dunton announced that "Next *Thursday* will be published, *The Wonders of the Invisible World, &c.*, written by Cotton Mather * * * Licensed and Entered according to Order." This advertisement was repeated on Tuesday, December 27, when it was also stated that the book was "*First Printed in Boston*, and now Reprinted in London for John Dunton at the Raven in the Poultry."

It was doubtless issued on Thursday, December 29, 1692. In the *Athenian Mercury* of the following Saturday, December 31, the first question is:

"*Quest. 1.* In those remarkable Tryals of Witches published this Week by Mr. Mather, 'tis said that Nineteen Witches have been lately Executed at New England, and that there is an Hundred Witches still in Prison, Committed upon the Accusation of Fifty Witches, some of

Boston, but most about Salem and the Towns adjacent: This Relation is very strange and surprising, I therefore desire your Sentiments of it?

"*Ans.* You'll find an Answer to this Question in p. 48 of the said book of *Tryals*, in these words:

[Here follows the certificate of Stoughton & Sewall.]

"These two Gentlemen, who give their Attestation to these *Tryals* published by Mr. *Mather*, being both of 'em Magistrates of Known Worth and Integrity, we shall add no more by way of Answer to this Question, but only to acquaint our Readers, that if anything occurs in reading which may occasion any doubt or dissatisfaction, We shall be ready if such *Objections* are sent in unto us to give what Explanation we are able, on such a *strange surprising Subject*."—*Athenian Mercury*: ix. No. 6.

The publication was frequently advertised in *The Athenian Mercury* during several weeks—on the 3d January, 1693, in large type, making it very conspicuous. The second edition was advertised on the 4th February, which, as well as the third, hereafter noticed, was greatly abridged. Dunton also advertised the work in *The London Gazette* of January 16–19, 1693.

Dunton must have received with the copy of the "Wonders," &c. the summary given in his "Question 1" quoted above, for he printed it on page 51 (sig. N²) of the first edition together with the additional announcement—that

"Mr. *Increase Mather* has Published a Book about *Witchcraft*, occasioned by the late Trials of Witches, which will be speedily printed in *London*, by *John Dunton*."¹ This must have been the "Cases of Conscience, etc."

On the 3d June, 1693, the following advertisement appeared:

"This is to give Notice that Mr. *Increase* and Mr. *Cotton*

¹ This "Matter Omitted in the Trials" printed on p. 51 (sig. N²) of the English reprint contains evident blunders, which a comparison with this passage will help to correct.

Mather's New Discourse concerning the *New England* WITCHES and WITCHCRAFTS, are now arriv'd, to which will be added the *Observations* of a Person who was upon the place 6 or 7 days, when the suspected WITCHES were first taken into Examination: As also an *Appendix* giving an Account of the late Dispossession of a Person in *England* by Fasting and Prayer; Printed by the Consent of the Minister chiefly concerned, with a Preface to it by a *Reverend Divine* living in *London*. These being all Licensed and Entered in the Hall-Book, will be speedily Published. Printed for *John Dunton* at the *Raven* in the *Poultry*: of whom is to be had Mr. *Cotton Mather's First Account* of the Tryals of the *New England Witches*. Printed on the same size with this *Last Account* of Mr. *Increase Mather's*, that they might bind up together."—*Athenian Mercury*: x. No. 20.

A further announcement was made in the next number of the paper, that "Mr. *Increase Mather's* New Discourses concerning the *New England* WITCHES and WITCHCRAFTS, being put to several Presses, will be Published speedily: &c."—*Athenian Mercury*: x. No. 21.

On June 10 and 13, 1693, it was advertised to appear on the following Thursday, June 15, which was doubtless its day of publication.—*Ib.*, Nos. 22, 23. "*The Third Edition* of Mr. *Cotton Mather's First Account* of the Tryals," is noticed in the advertisements of the 10th and 13th June and subsequently. The work was advertised for sale in the paper of the 17th June, 1693, and continued to be noticed in that way from time to time until the 26th of September, after which date I have found no further mention of it. The price of the "Further Account," &c., was one shilling. It was also advertised in the *London Gazette* of June 15-19, 1693.

The pamphlet, as published, did not contain the promised appendix, which, however, was advertised on the back of the title as "now preparing for the Press." But the other

part of the announcement was made good, by reprinting the "Brief and True Narrative" of Deodat Lawson before described, with a running title "The Examination of the New England Witches," followed by "A Further Account of the Tryals of the New England Witches, sent in a Letter from thence, to a Gentleman in London." This document includes notices of witchcraft transactions as late as February, 1693, and concludes with the remark: "At present there are no Prosecutions of any." The remainder of the pamphlet contains the reprint of Increase Mather's "Cases of Conscience."

Cotton Mather records the fact that "The rest of the summer was a very doleful time unto y^e whole country. Many persons of diverse characters were Accused, Apprehended, prosecuted, upon y^e Visions of the Afflicted." When the prisons were crowded with the multitude of those accused, he "Preached unto y^e Persons in Prison *Acts*: 24: 25." He always "magnified his office," and it cannot with truth be denied that he was conspicuous in the whole business throughout. Nor is it difficult to explain why he could not fail to be so. He has left the record in his diary:

"Before I made any such Reflection myself, I heard the Reflection made by *others* who were more considerate; That this Assault of the *Evil Angels* upon y^e country, was intended by *Hell*, as a particular Defiance, unto *my* poor endeavours to bring y^e Souls of Men, unto Heaven. When I have attentively considered this matter, it enflamed my Endeavours this winter to do yett more, in a direct *opposition* unto y^e Devil."

November 29, 1692. "While I was preaching at a private fast (kept for a possessed young woman), on Mark 9, 28, 29, y^e Devil in y^e Damsel flew upon mee, & tore y^e Leaf, as it is now torn, over against ye Text: Nov. 29, 1692. Cotton Mather."

In a sermon preached in the afternoon of the 20th December, 1691, he declared with reference to a former sermon

of his: "It seems the bloody *Demons*, had unto their vexation, some way learnt, what *I* was to Preach about!" —*Balsamum Vulnerarium*: p. 69.

Credulity and vanity like this would account for almost any measure of folly and wickedness. "*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*"

Four years afterwards a fast was ordered, in which special reference was had to this "tragedie," to be observed throughout the Province on the 14th day of January, 1697. The notices of this proceeding in Mather's Diary are revelations.

"1697. 14^d. 11^m. [14th January]. This Day being a General FAST throughout y^e Province y^e Lord mercifully carried mee through the Duties of it. And I am willing, in this place to Insert, the Articles of *Confession* which I there publickly insisted on."

Here follow in the original diary, the specifications of confession, which appear in that "Declaration enumerating Sundry Evills to be confessed on a Publick Day of Humiliation therein proposed" which had been adopted by the House of Representatives, but non-concurred by the Council in the previous December. Mather drew up that document "at the request of the ministers who had been applied to" and the original is among the archives of Massachusetts, from which it was printed in my first paper read before the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1882.¹ The copy in the diary is mainly the same as the original, but there is a notable variation in that article of confession which relates to what was in fact the chief occasion for the public fasting and humiliation, to avert God's heavy judgments for their sin in shedding the innocent blood. In the original paper it stands:

"Wicked *Sorceries* have been practised in the land; and, in the late inexplicable storms from the Invisible world

¹ See Appendix: II., for an addition to that paper.

thereby brought upon us, wee were left, by the Just Hand of Heaven unto those Errors whereby Great Hardships were brought upon Innocent persons, and (wee feare) Guilt incurr'd, which wee have all cause to Bewayl, with much confusion of Face before the Lord."

Mather's account of the failure of the original paper in the legislature is as follows :

"This Instrument was Read and passed in the House of Representatives; but through some unhappy Influence, they added an Article unto it, which was not of my composure; and that Article gave such offence unto the Councillors that y^e whole Instrument there mett with opposition, and *all* came to nothing.

"☞ Yett I was persuaded that I should shortly have some singular opportunity to publish the Articles of this Instrument, unto my country, with some special Advantages."

The last paragraph was written later in different ink, and it is obvious that he recognized his opportunity in his Fast Sermon. But he changed the paragraph most important for the occasion—which in his revised version of it, appears as follows :

"Wicked Sorceries have been practised in y^e Land, and yett in the Troubles from the Devils, thereby brought in among us, those Errors on both Hands were committed, which we have cause to bewayl, with much Abasement of Soul before the Lord."

We have no means of knowing how his sermon was received or what effect it produced among his hearers—but the following extract from his diary shows his own condition of mind as recorded on the following day :

"15^d 11^m [15th January, 1697]. Being afflicted last night wth Discouraging Thoughts as if unavoidable *Marks* of y^e *Divine Displeasure* must overtake my *Family* for my not appearing wth Vigor enough to stop y^e Proceedings of the Judges, when y^e Inexplicable Storm from y^e *Invisible World* assaulted the Country, I did this morning in

prayer with my Family putt my Family into y^e merciful Hands of y^e Lord.

“And with tears I Received Assurance of y^e Lord that Marks of his Indignation should not follow my Family, but that having the *Righteousness* of y^e Lord Jesus Christ pleading for us, *Goodness* and *Mercy* should follow us & y^e Signal *Salvation* of the Lord.”¹

His biographer says that “it is clear that no uneasiness from within, no self upbraiding for the part he had acted, ever disturbed his repose.”—Peabody in Sparks’s *Am. Biog.* vi. 213. He adds, however, subsequently, in reference to a passage from Mather’s *Diary* of 1713 “that the subject troubled him at times, long after the excitement had passed away.”—*Ib.* 259.

No contemporary work on the Witchcraft Delusion surpasses in authority and real value that of Robert Calef—*More Wonders of the Invisible World*, prepared for publication in 1697, and published in London in 1700. It is a lasting monument of his fame, and no more timely or important contribution to the colonial history of Massachusetts could be made, than a thoroughly well edited new publication of Calef’s book in 1892, at the close of the second century since the events which it chiefly records.

The elder Mather has never had justice done him in the assignment of a due share of the responsibility for the bloody work at Salem in 1692. When he arrived on the scene from England in the middle of May, the examinations had been going on for many weeks. Did his age, gravity

¹ A few days after this he was baffled in one of his attempts at devotion, by the extremely cold weather. “23^d 11^m [23d January, 1697]. I attempted this day y^e exercises of a secret Fast before y^e Lord. But so extremely cold was the weather, that in a Warm Room, on a Great Fire, the Juices forced out at y^e End of Short Billets of Wood, by y^e Heat of y^e flame, on w^{ch} they were laid, yett froze into ice at their coming out. This extremity of y^e cold caused mee to desist from y^e purpose w^{ch} I was upon; Because I saw it impossible to serve y^e Lord, without such Distraction, as was Inconvenient.” The incident of the sap freezing at the ends of billets of wood on a great fire, may also be found in his *Christian Philosopher: 1721*, page 74.

and experience temper or check in the slightest degree the absurdity, extravagance and folly of the proceedings? Can any ripple be discerned in the swelling tide of that awful delusion to indicate the slightest obstruction, when he landed in the country and appeared in the scene? On the contrary, the wicked violations of law and justice in that infamous tribunal which soon followed, were encouraged by his presence, his influence and his applause. His influence against it would have prevented the illegal organization of the Court. His resistance to any part of the proceedings would have called a halt in the whole business and delayed the trials until the regular machinery of justice was duly and lawfully set in motion. His authority with Phips was unbounded—and he might, could and should have used it on the side of humanity and mercy. Yet there is not one jot or tittle of evidence or probability that he hesitated a moment in joining the insane crowd who were crying out for blood. Twenty judicial murders had been committed, all of which he seems to have approved, before his voice was heard in the expression of doubt as to the worst of the methods they had been pursuing.

Increase Mather survived this witchcraft massacre thirty years, and his son five years longer—but there is hardly a word of regret or sympathy for the victims to be found anywhere, even in their private diaries and correspondence. The passages are few that betray the honest convictions which their pride and prudence so carefully concealed. *Noli me tangere* was inscribed on every avenue to their consciences, and nobody but Robert Calef ever ventured to violate the injunction. Old Michael Wigglesworth in 1704 put aside their studied reserve and freed his mind in a letter to Increase Mather, which is a revelation to later times; but neither then, nor at any other time, can any considerable appearance be found of a disposition on their part to encourage the efforts suggested towards reparation and restitution. Prayers and fasting all round were the only

panacea for the inhuman persecutions, robberies and murders which had been so freely indulged.

Wisdom and goodness do not always go together. A man may be good without wisdom and wise without goodness; so that marvellous folly may tarnish the record of a very good man and stupendous wickedness may fill the story of him who is versed in all learning.

The complaint has been reiterated that the little wilderness town of Salem should have been selected as *the* conspicuous or "awful example" with its record of 1692. The world was full of witchcraft, and the secret, black and midnight hags who constituted its priesthood were careering over all lands, seas and oceans—the victims of its foul and disgusting delusions have even been reckoned by millions (?) in the world's annals—*why* was it that "the First Born of our English Settlements" in Massachusetts was doomed to the most conspicuous place of dishonor in all this fearful array? Simply because there was hardly any form of atrocious violence and wickedness belonging to the whole cult of witchcraft which was not delineated in this miniature. It was the *epitome* of witchcraft! whose ghastly records may be challenged to produce any parallel for it in the world's history! in which it stands as famous an incident as any event in the history of New England, not excepting the Landing of the Pilgrims! It was the only *conspicuous* exhibition of this devil's business known on this continent—the only instance in which it became epidemic. How many have there been on record anywhere in which this epidemic feature was equally marked and absolute?

If the "Book of New England Martyrs" is ever written, its most impressive pictorial illustrations will be the scenes on Witch Hill in the afternoon of those latter summer, or early autumn, days, with their awe-stricken and murmuring crowds of spectators, the calm and faithful resignation of the innocent victims contrasted with the fierce and trium-

phant pride of the religious fanatics who countenanced in person those murderous executions—Cotton Mather on horseback, and Nicholas Noyes on foot, in that Aceldama on Witch Hill, the one pointing to the lifeless body of George Burroughs as not having been an ordained minister, and the other characterizing the whole array of the victims to whom he pointed “swinging there as eight firebrands of hell.”

In no part of the palimpsest of Massachusetts history, is more patience or greater skill necessary to discover what is hidden under the superficial work of writers who seem to have made it their business to obscure the record and conceal the truth. A vague and indefinite sense of continuous responsibility seems to linger, as it has been handed down from generation to generation, with implied obligation if not positive injunction to frown upon every attempt to meet and answer the call of duty to go out from the house of historical bondage. In no sort of bondage is the doctrine more thoroughly true and wholesome—“the truth shall make you free.”

APPENDIX.

I. REVEREND DEODAT LAWSON.

An extraordinary obscurity has rested over the later career of Deodat Lawson. Mr. Upham gives all that was known of him, and dismisses him as disappearing in the dark, impenetrable cloud of this expression, “the unhappy Mr. Deodat Lawson,” as he was characterized in Calamy’s *Continuation*, etc., published in 1727. The following letter, now first published, reveals one source at least of his unhappiness, and challenges sympathy for his misfortunes, whatever may have been their cause.

[Bodleian Library. Rawlinson MS. C. 128, fol. 12.]

JER: DUMMER &
HEN: NEWMAN Esq^r.

Lond. Dec^r. 24, 1714.

My most humble service with unfeigned respects presented unto each of you; I make bold, to make this application to you as persons of worth and learning, who are thereby inclined to have

compassion upon a poor distressed Minister, and his family who are reduced to the most extream want of all the necessaries which concern humane life (that is meat drink and clothing) and am so much the more distressed, by my three young Children being visited with the small pox all at once, so that my poor wife came not into any bed for fifteen nights together, & that I could not be spared from them to look out for supply and subsistence, we must of necessity be deeply impoverished. Now whereas I did (about a month since) deliver some broken Meditations, at my Lords day Evening Lecture, on occasion of K: Georg his Royal Coronation, which met with such unexpected acceptation; that I have been desired and encouraged, to transcribe my notes of that discourse; in order to committing them to the press; I have therefore begun and made some progress in the Coppy, having prefaced it, with a solemn Dedication first to Almighty God the King of Kings. next to the High & Mighty Monarch King Georg I and finally to their Roy^{ll} Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales; with all their Roy^{ll} & Magnificent progeny. I have also consulted Mr. Rob^t. Tookey printer behind St. Christophers Church in Thredneedle street, what it would cost, to print it in 2 sheets of paper, to be sold for 3d. (for it must not be above 3d.) he told me to print 750— (which was as few as would bear the charge & save ourselves) it would cost 5^{ll} at least If it were done well and fair now my design is to perfect the notes; write them out fair, and deliver the Sermon in the most publick auditory I can procure, on the 20th of Jan^{ry} next being the day of publick thanksgiving, appointed by his Majesty for his peaceable and happy accession to; & Establishment upon, the throne of these kingdoms. whereas therefore it is well known, to the Gentlemen and merchants of N. England; that when I had wherewith I was willing to help some that stood in need; hoping this may be a favourable juncture to recover my miserable Circumstances who am now at my *ultimus Conatus* & must be effectually relieved, or we must unavoidably perish; I must confess I blush to give you the trouble, of so mean an undertaking; yet considering ye know well the heart of a Scholar & Minister in straits; if ye please to move my case amongst to (*sic*) N: England Gentlemen & raise me 5^{ll} and pay it in to Mr. Tooky aforesaid (that no part of it may be otherwise employed) I cannot but perswade myself, it will be a sacrifice well pleasing unto God; and as great satisfaction to your own minds, as any thing of that nature can possibly be & when the Coppy is written fair, I will give you opportunity to read it, as worthy M^r. Newman hath already heard some of the principal heads with kind acceptation. But not to trouble you with many words, I commit the matter wholly to God's Mercy and your Christian Compassion & beg leave to subscribe

Yo^r Inexpressibly distressed Friend & most

humb^t servant DRODAT LAWSON

I shall frequent the N. England Coffee house till I know yo^r result, & be always ready to Comply with yo^r motions & directions therein

Id^m D. L.

(Addressed) To JEREMY DUMMER &
HENRY NEWMAN, Esq^{rs}.

these at the N. Engl^l. Coffee House In London.

II. MEMORIAL OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF GEORGE
BURROUGHS: 1749.

When I prepared the appendix of Legislative Proceedings, etc., which accompanied my first paper of *Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts*, printed in the Proceedings of the Society, October 21, 1882, I was utterly unable to discover the original memorial of the representatives of GEORGE BURROUGHS, which led to the latest proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature respecting the Witchcraft business, about the middle of the last century. A contemporary copy of it, preserved by some of his descendants, has since come into my hands, and I think that my own opinion will be sustained that it is one of the most interesting and important papers which can be produced on the subject. I trust that it may open the way to the clear discovery of the reasons why "nothing was done and the cry of the long oppressed Sufferers seems to have been stifled, and was heard no more in the high places of legislation."

To His Excellency WILLIAM SHIRLEY Esq.: Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Honourable His Majesty's Council, and the Honourable House of Representatives, in General Court Assembled the 31st Day of May Anno Domini 1749.

The Memorial and Petition of THOMAS NEWMAN, ABIA HOLBROOK & ELIAS THOMAS, Agents for their Respective Relatives, the Surviving Children and Grandchildren of George Burroughs, formerly of Falmouth in the County of York & Province aforesaid, Clerk, Deceas'd.

Most humbly set forth

That Your Memorialists' Grandfather the said *George Burroughs*, was descended of an Ancient, Affluent, & Pious Family in Ipswich, in the County of Suffolk, in Great Britain, from whence one branch of this Family came over among some of the Early Settlers of this Province, And at Cambridge in New England Our said Grandfather had a Liberal Education, and for many Years Officiated in the Evangelical work of the Ministry in the County of York aforesaid, until the fatal Year 1692 when in a most Awful manner and under Colour of the Province Law, He was, by the Accusations of some Delirious Possessed & Distracted People, to say no worse of them, with great Violence laid hold on, for a WIZARD, and torn away from his Wife and a large Family of small Children, & from his Ministerial Administrations, and committed close Prisoner in Salem Goal, as the Head & Ringleader of all the Supposed Witches in the Land.

But, before we proceed further, *May it please Your Excellency, and Honours*, Your Memorialists humbly beg leave to premise. That by no means, designedly, would we rip up, and unduly aggravate the Sanguine Delusions of that Terrible Day, far from it, but only as Innocent Persons sorely oppressed & utterly undone both in Estate and Character, in our humble Applications for Succour & Relief from the Legislature, Point out the true State of your Petitioners' case, that so the present Authority of this Province may have a just Conception thereof. Your

Memorialists therefore, under this Equitable Protection humbly proceed further to declare that Our said Grandfather's Seizure, and Imprisonment were attended with singular m[arks] of Indignation & Enmity, threatening Indications, of the direful Scene which quickly followed, On the fifth day of August 1692 his Trial commenced, and on the fifteenth day of the same month he was dragged to the fatal Tree, being then just turned of Forty Years of Age, in his full Strength, & there hanged till he was Dead, whereby the Menacing Predictions of his Possessed Accusers & others were fulfilled, who publickly cryed out sundry times, demanding his Life, and that nothing short of Shedding his Blood would appease them.

Thus was our said Grandfather upon the Fascinating Evidence of pretended, Spectres, Ghosts and Phantoms (appearing against him in open Court at noon day, as it was then said) hunted to the Gallows, where he most solemnly appealed to GOD, the alone Searcher of all Hearts, of his Innocency, the same he stedfastly maintained on his Trial, praying most fervently, and with an ardent flow of Christian Charity, earnestly Supplicating, that GOD would forgive all his Enemies, As he himself, just launching into Eternity, heartily did, and that his innocent blood now Spilt might not fall upon the Country.

His Trial, but more Especially his Tragical Execution, was remarkable for the Vindictive and Virulent Spirit then Predominant, in the Prejudiced Breasts of too many Persons in that dismal day. When Dead and cut down he was stripped of his Apparel by the hangman, and an old pair of Trousers of One Executed, pulled over his lower Parts, & then dragged by the halter to a hole about two foot deep, between two Rocks, in the Eye of the Gallows, and there put in with two other dead Bodies, executed at the same time, & for the like supposed Crime of Witchcraft, His Chin and one of his hands, & the Foot of One of them, being left uncovered.

Immediately upon their laying hold of Our said Ancestor to Imprison Him as aforesaid, His Papers, Books, and the best of his Furniture, Goods & Chattels, were Seized & Carried off by Officers, & others, some things dispersed one way, other things another, (these Illegal Purlloining transactions were well known to be Practiced with Impunity, in those days of Confusion against some unhappy Persons, and their Familys, That were Committed for Witchcraft) under pretence indeed of their being taken into safe Custody, & for better Security, but in Fact were never Returned.

The said Burroughs's Family, his Wife & nine Children, Eight of them under Thirteen Years of Age, & then living, their Head thus forced away from them, were broke all to peeces, Terrified & Affrighted almost to Death, and from that Day forward Scattered and driven away, and in a destitute, helpless Condition, wandered up & down the land, with little or no Cloathing, saving what was on their Backs, having neither Father nor Estate, any longer to Provide for them: The Youngest Child being a Female Infant about eighteen months old, a little Boy of Four Years Old, another of Five Years Old, One other between Six & Seven, a little Youth near Eight, another Son of nine Years, & Three Daughters, One near Eleven Years of Age, & the other something above Twelve Years, & the other Marriageable. By this Woful destruction of Their Rev^d Father the whole Family, in a Littoral Sense, were plucked up Root & Branch, and where ever they were by necessity driven & suffered to Sojourn, became a Gazing Stock of Reproach, Scorn & bitter Contempt, most of these poor Orphans were in a great measure deprived, & some of them wholly, of any Education at all; So that in Reality, what with Grief & Reproach, Scorn, Contempt & Penury, & little or no Learning, One of the said Children named Jeremiah (so called to bear

up the name of One of the Family in England, the Famous & Renowned Rev.^d Divine, M.^r Jeremiah Burroughs, then deceased) being the Youngest but two of Our said Grandfather's Sons, became Gradually, in his Youthful days, so shattered in his Intellectuals, at the terrible Destruction of his Father, & the Miserable Calamities betiding his Children Consequent thereupon that He run quite Distracted, has been so for many Years past, and continues so to this Day, His other Brother, George Burroughs, is yet living, Immersed in Grief, Weakness and Poverty.

May it please Your Excellency and Honours, Your Petitioners most humbly crave leave further to suggest, that as the Superlative Pressures & Distresses of their Constituents, & themselves, are of a very Singular & uncommon Complexion, if this Our Memorial to set forth the same, be something longer than Usual, We may in all Justice to the Oppressed, Hope & Pray, that the same may have a Mild & Patient Hearing.

The Mansion House of our said Grandfather, together with Thirty Acres of Land, in or near the Center of the Township of Falmouth, of Considerable Value, is (in a manner) wholly lost to his Children, as will presently herein more fully appear, together with a Certain Island in Casco Bay, at that day, called & known by the Name of Long Island, which was granted by the Proprietors to our said Ancestor, as an Incouragement for him to Settle in the Ministry with that People, in their then dangerous Situation, by Reason of the Indian & French Enemy, this said Island is now called Smith's Island, and worth some Thousands of Pounds, but wholly lost to the right Heirs thereof, the said Burroughs Children & their descendants, Nor can they now in any Shape come at their respective Rights of Inheritance therein, by Reason that their said Fathers Papers, Writings & Original Grants, were all seized secreted or destroyed at his Imprisonment & Execution, And the Records of such Grants, as it is reported, were all lost or burnt by the Indians & French, when the Town of York was sacked & burnt in January 1691. Other Records and Papers of Consequence were consumed or lost when Casco Town & Fort were Taken, and when the Town of Wells was in like manner broke up, So that the said Children & their Survivors are wholly shut out, & totally Excluded from their just right of Inheritance, in the Valuable Premisses aforementioned. And so well assured was the late James Bowdoin, Esq.^r of the real Right & Just Title of our said Grandfather's Heirs, to the said House & Thirty Acres of Land in the Town of Falmouth aforesaid, that He actually, of his own Accord & meer Motion (We being wholly Ignorant that He knew any thing of our Affairs) made Overtures to Two of Your Memorialists, offering them, to pay Ten Pounds Old Tenor to every one of said Burroughs's Children, that would Release & Quit Claim to the same, and so, pro rata, to any of y^e Descendents of such of the said Children, as were then Dead. The said Bowdoin's own Father being the very Person, as we are informed, that made Entry upon our said Ancestor's Inheritance in Falmouth aforesaid, and occupied the same for many Years, And no longer ago than the year 1736, or thereaway, the said James Bowdoin did in reality procure from some of our Constituents (overwhelmed with Poverty & despair being deprived of all their Fathers Writings and Claims thereto as aforesaid) ample releases, of all their respective Fee Simples in the said Estate, and for the inconsiderable Sum aforesaid, which in truth did not amount to near so much, as they in Justice ought to have received only for the rents thereof, for Forty Years improvement.

Your Petitioners, *May it please Your Excellency & Honours*, would only further intercede, to instance, one other deplorable Consequence, that presently overtook them, by the Immature Death of the said Burroughs.—His own Uncle Mr. - - - - Styles, by Name, (belonging to the Six Clerks Office in Chauncery) who Died some Time, but not long before the said Burroughs in & by his last Will & Testament, Gave & devised a Considerable Estate, consisting of some Houses & Lands in Ipswich, in Great Britain, one in Smithfield, another in or near Cheapside London, to our said Grandfather, which for want of Looking after, occasioned by the Minority Infamy & Poverty of his Children, & the utter loss of all their said Fathers Papers Letters & Instruments, are wholly gone from the Right Heirs, the said Burroughs's Children, nor can we so much as say who occupys the same or any part thereof.

To be brief, and succinctly to Close this deplorable Scene,—*May it please Your Excellency, the Honourable his Majesty's Council, & the Honourable House of Representatives*, Your Petitioners in behalf of their Unhappy Constituents, & on their own parts also, most humbly Supplicate that this Cry of the Oppressed may Come up before You, & that the important Facts herein Summarily recited, of a Family, of good alliance & affluence, in Our Mother Country, branching out, & some of them Early & Chearfully Embarking in the Toilsome Settlements of this Land, in its Desarts & Minority, thus Harrased Rent & Torn to pieces the Life of Our Ancestor, a Gentleman, a Minister of the Gospel, thus hunted to Death in the midst of his Days, at the Instigation and Procurement of a Visionary Crew of Malicious Demonlacks and Satanical Missionaries, with their Fantastic Auxilliaries of Spectres, Ghosts & Apparitions (For Evidence in Law, in a case of Life & Death) whereby the Court & Country were sorely abused deluded & imposed upon, and the Children of our said Ancestor, & their Offspring, all ruined & Undone in Estate & Character even to this Day—may have their Due weight.

Our almost dispairing Constituents, have been made to hope, That upon Application to the Government, suitable redress would Undoubtedly be afforded, for which reason (among others) Your Memorialists with all due Reverence, & Humility beg leave once more to lay these our Extensive & Grievous Oppressions before Your Excellency and this Honourable Court (our former Petition, presented to the General Assembly of this Province in the Year 1740, or thereabouts, upon the Subject Matter herein Contained, wth some Papers of Consequence thereto annexed w^{ch} were sent over to Us from London about Seventeen Years ago, being all unhappily consumed when y^e Province House burnt, & before y^e Hon^{ble} Committee appointed to consider thereof, had opportunity to make their report)—Your Petitioners further & finally praying that Your Excellency & Honours would be pleased to apportion such addequate Recompence, either in the Province Lands, in Money's, or otherwise to yo^r poor forlorn & Unhappy Sufferers, as may in Your just Wisdom be thought proportionate, to y^e Heavy load of Calamity's w^{ch} they have so long & so Innocently Groaned under.

AND YOUR PETITIONERS, AS IN DUTY BOUND, WILL EVER PRAY,—That all the foregoing Unhappy Acts & Transactions, may be totally obliterated, and buried in perpetual oblivion &c.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO LOCAL HISTORY.

BY GEORGE E. FRANCIS.

LOCAL histories tell us a great deal else that is interesting and valuable, but they do not show *how* a town grew up. They give figures and facts; tell us that in such a year was the first settlement; that twenty years later there were so many farms; and that after twenty-five years more there were so many children at school. We can find in these accounts the names of the early inhabitants; and possibly we can ascertain from them just where were their dwellings, and where were the church and the mill. Facts of all sorts, with authorities quoted, from which we can form a fair opinion of the rate of growth of a given community; of its prosperity in a business way; of the public spirit, the patriotism, the religious zeal, the liberality, the health of its people; but nowhere, as I believe, can we trace the process of evolution of a farm into a hamlet, into a village, into a town. This is indeed impossible to be done by literature: such changes can only be recorded pictorially. No words can adequately bring to our minds the chain of little, gradual alterations in the houses, the roads, fields, woods, water-courses, as would a series of accurate pictures taken at short and regular intervals: something like the family photograph album, where are treasured all the likenesses, it may be, of the youngest son, from his infancy to his manhood.

We know that the stalwart, bearded man was once a baby; all experience and analogy go to prove it. But what words can indicate how his meaningless features took on in turn the look of intelligence, of inquiry, of mischief,

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Imagine what a help it would be in the philosophical study of New England history and growth, to be able to refer to a continuous photograph album,—not of the people of a town, but of the town itself. I think that if it were possible to obtain such a complete, historical series of views and pictures of a single town, we should agree that our library must have it, whatever the cost.

Students of history and of social science, in future generations, may treat these subjects differently and more profoundly than those of our day; but it is very unlikely that any contemporary records which we shall leave for their use will be satisfactory to them unless they reach the highest standard of completeness which we are able to set to ourselves. Our ancestors had not foreseen that their ways and doings would be objects of interest and profound study to their great-grandchildren; possibly they would have scorned the idea that time should be found for such trifling pursuits; and, moreover, they had no photography. To us, who see that some leisure is at the command of almost every man, and that historical investigations attract more and more, as years go by, it becomes a serious duty to preserve all such memoranda as we should wish had been saved for us.

It seems to me that if we wish, as individuals, and as a society, to do our full duty to posterity, we must not fail to hand down to them the best possible picturing of our lands, our buildings, and our ways of living.

There can be no question that photography is the best method of securing these graphic records. It is by far the most accurate, the easiest, and the cheapest of all methods known at the present day. Some better way may be found

next year, or next century ; but now there is nothing else but photography. This additional advantage it has, that it is more nearly free than any other graphic process, from error caused by the bias or prejudice of the operator. Not absolutely secure, however, because it is quite easy to make a photographic picture of a house, for instance, so as to give an idea of something very much unlike the reality, both in size and proportions. The very best of lenses are not optically perfect, and by skilful use of their distortions an expert could furnish to order a picture to prove or disprove many a disputed point. It is hinted that certain great corporations, who use in court the testimony of photographs, have discovered the advantage of letting the photographer clearly understand, in advance, just what the lens is expected to testify. But it is exceedingly unlikely that any of our number would attempt to distort facts to prove theories, and still less likely that any of us will become sufficiently expert with the camera to succeed in any such attempt.

While I rapidly run over some of the features of our time and environment which seem to specially call for photographic record, I beg you to bear in mind that much of what now is, was not made or changed by our hands or in our time ; the land, watercourses, hills, woods and most of the architecture have been for years much as they are now. They remain as records of our predecessors ; and they also must be included in the gathering of that which is of to-day.

The first subject to be named, is the farm, the starting point of all. Here we have unlimited scope, the great difficulty being in selection. But in a general way it might be proposed that in towns designated as typical, or interesting, or peculiar, certain of the farms should be selected as specimens, in three classes at least : the best, the worst and the average or medium. Of course there must be some sort of agreement arrived at in advance as to the standard by

which farms should be rated, and the relative value of different points, as size, productiveness, etc.; but this would chiefly concern the comparing of farms in different towns and regions. In any one neighborhood there ought to be little difficulty in picking out samples of the best, the poorest and the average. Again, a selection might be desirable of the oldest, the youngest, and the middle-aged farms; they might afford an opportunity for some interesting comparisons. It might appear that on the whole the oldest farms are now the best farms; or it might be discovered that the asserted decline in farming property away from cities, is most marked where the soil has been longest tilled. So there may be reasons for wishing to be able to compare hill farms with those in lower levels; large farms with small ones; those near large ponds or streams with those distant from water.

Whatever farms are selected should be pictured both in general and in detail. To get a good idea of the whole estate, its levels, its subdivisions, and its relations to roads, streams, hills, woods and neighbors, a distant view is needed; perhaps more than one. These would give only a general idea, because the details in the picture would be on an excessively small scale. To show the buildings, the camera must be brought much nearer, and the rear view is even more essential than that of the front of the house; much more individuality is apt to be shown on the side away from public view. Not only is the dwelling to be portrayed, but every barn, shed and out-building of every description; and, moreover, the inside of every building that is big enough to swing a tripod in, where admittance can be gained. Whenever it can be managed, it would be a great improvement to include some living object in the view; it looks better to see signs of life and occupation, and a man or a horse by the side of the barn makes a good standard by which to measure the size of the building.

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Remember that all this new accumulation is not so much for present use as for possible or probable future need, precisely as our Librarian saves every little pamphlet or printed page containing facts. All these pictures may seem commonplace enough to us, as the pamphlets and newspapers certainly do; but when we remember how very precious would seem to us such a collection of pictures of almost any date that could be named, even but fifty years ago at the East, or twenty years ago in many a western city, we cannot err in believing that posterity will bless us for all the thoughtfully planned work of this sort that we are likely to attempt.

But fortunately in following out some lines that naturally suggest themselves we may hope that the immediate results would be singularly interesting and instructive; as for instance, a series of pictures showing the successive phases of the school-house in country and city. No doubt some very ancient specimens are still to be found, but little changed in all these years. The variety or the similarity in form, size, material and location, and the very gradual evolution out of the primitive, rude structure, would perhaps furnish opportunity for valuable study. So with regard to the churches, and their surroundings; the graveyards; the pounds and lock-ups, and the taverns. But most particu-

larly important seems to me the prompt collection in a systematic way, of everything that can be pictured relating to the developing of mechanical industries in New England. It is highly probable that it is not too late to make a very complete presentation, with the aid of the camera, of the evolution of the modern factory out of the little, brook-side mill. Many of the little buildings must still be standing which were the cradles of infant industries. There is still to be seen on Grove street in Worcester, the very small structure which gave shelter to those first attempts at wire-making, which have culminated in the great Washburn and Moen Manufacturing Company. Perhaps in Leicester we might find some relics of the shop where the first machines for making card-clothing began their complicated motion. But these remains of the early days of manufacturing are fast passing away. The antique mill architecture, like the old-fashioned machinery, is of no use whatever.

For reasons not altogether agreed upon, there seems to have arisen such intense competition that no profit can be made, in most manufactures, save under the best conditions of economy. And, among these essential conditions, must be reckoned the best planned buildings, as well as the most improved machinery. In Lowell, the older mill buildings have been mostly torn down to make room for better housing for the new machinery. Quite lately I was told that one of the great corporations there found it necessary to put in newer and more rapid looms, in place of the old ones, which were by no means worn out. But these old looms could not be sold for enough to pay for taking apart and putting together; and as the most profitable way of disposing of them, they were tumbled out of the big windows, and the wreckage sold to the junk dealer. And the day comes when the old buildings must be torn down, to make room for something better planned. So the old is rapidly vanishing from the face of the manufacturing world; but enough is left to supply a very complete series for the collection I propose.

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I shall not attempt to pursue farther this portion of what I have to say; but very much more might be said concerning these and other subjects for profitable work. The most extensive, perhaps, may be alluded to in passing:—the growth of a city.

As you all know, the art of photography has made enormous strides within the last few years, advancing in quality somewhat,—in quantity, enormously. The introduction of the dry plate was the great factor which revolutionized the whole practice, and made it easy, cleanly and as little laborious as any pastime. To-day there are amateurs by the hundred able to make a useful picture; in ten years more, it is probable that there will be ten times as many. And as is natural, these amateurs are rapidly organizing and forming Camera Clubs and the like in every city, and many of the towns. These societies have been occupied in work which was interesting and profitable to their members; it is time now to ask them to do some good work for historical students, and for posterity.

It is my belief, not hastily formed, that if this Society should think it wise to enter upon the task of collecting photographic records and should present a carefully considered plan for such work to the various associations of amateur photographers, the response would be prompt, hearty and genuine.

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For the benefit of any amateurs examining the prints or slides, an invoice will accompany the whole, giving all technical information as to processes employed. Every effort will be made to have each print and slide of high merit.”

If this Society desires to set in motion an army of volunteers who are most of them really anxious to find some useful work for their lenses, it has only to plan the work, invite the co-operation of photographers, and presently care for the resulting harvest of contributions. To decide upon a plan of work may prove no easy task; it should be done thoroughly, by wise heads, after abundant deliberation. A great many points will have to be considered and decided, so that any appeal made by us to the photographic public

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may be full and explicit. We must state exactly what objects we desire to have photographed, what points are to be brought out, what sizes and kinds of prints or negatives we prefer, what data should accompany them, etc., etc. It is hardly practicable to prepare our plans in time to have much work done for us during the coming summer, but the work of preparation can be most thoroughly done before the opening of 1889.

If what I have already said has not shown the value, nay, the necessity of promptly establishing a new department of our library, I can only regret that I have not succeeded in fairly presenting the question. It is impossible that the immense worth and use of systematic and comprehensive photographic records of our country and our time can much longer fail to be recognized. It means no change of policy, simply the adoption of a new method in addition to our former ones; it is only to attempt to bring together pictorial records with the same thoroughness that marks our storing of books and manuscripts.

Let me in closing refer to the very recent and very successful attempt of the astronomers to extend and improve their observatory work by making the heavenly bodies imprint their own photographic images. Our success may well be as sudden and as complete as theirs. It is but a year or two since it was demonstrated that even a small telescope fitted to a camera will produce a far better representation of sun, moon, nebula or star group than human hand can draw; and now the whole heavens are being pictured in the most elaborate way by enthusiasts all over the globe, all working upon a system which has been adopted after careful deliberation.

MONETARY UNIFICATION.

BY ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN.

THE prominence given lately to all questions of political economy, especially to the subject of metallic currency by the official international conferences of 1867, 1878 and 1881, leads one to examine the monetary history of the past. Without taking a retrospective view it would be hardly possible to realize the various changes that have taken place, many of which have been very gradual, so gradual as scarcely to arrest the attention of contemporaries.

In my brief essay I wish to point out principally the important fact that the money systems of the chief commercial nations are tending steadily towards unification. The development is in many respects like that of the Roman money system, the points of resemblance being distinctly seen by a comparison of the monetary facts of ancient and modern times.

The Roman system was originally based on copper, all the coins being of that metal and consequently all contracts estimated according to its value. When silver became sufficiently abundant from conquest and commerce to enable the Romans to substitute it for copper, the standard was changed and copper fell to a subordinate position, which it has since retained in Europe with a few temporary exceptions in modern times. When the gold of the East found its way to Rome very much as silver had found its way, by conquest chiefly, the silver standard gradually yielded to one of gold and the silver coins became subsidiary. By the time of Vespasian gold had become practically the measure of value, although accounts were still

reckoned for some time in denarii and sestertii. The development was a natural one, the superior metal becoming naturally the measure of value.

François Lenormant in his interesting and able book, called "Money in Antiquity," sums up the changes in Rome as follows: "Among the Romans and other peoples of central Italy up to the consulship of A. Ogulnius and C. Fabius (485 of Rome, 269 before J. C.) the standard was of copper; from that date until the end of the Republic the standard of silver was adopted, and finally under the empire the gold standard." He adds, "It can be laid down as a principle that the ancients knew nothing about the impracticable pretensions of what is called at the present time bi-metallic money or a double standard. On the contrary we find that they always adopted one metal as the fundamental standard and regulator of the whole monetary system. The metal selected varied, as must necessarily happen, according to the particular circumstances of the countries and epochs."

The changes of standard in some of the countries of Europe in modern times have been similar to those of antiquity. Sweden, for instance, was obliged to resort to a copper currency after her disastrous wars, which had deprived her of most of her silver and gold. Silver was, however, soon restored as the measure of value, and now gold has become the sole standard of the country. In Russia copper remained the medium of exchange much longer than in Sweden, but the power of the government, although great, could not impose, for any length of time, an artificial value on copper beyond its market one compared to silver, and contracts were made based on the latter metal in spite of the law. By an edict of 1655 copper was declared to be of the same value as silver. A copper copek of the same weight as a silver one was legally as valuable, no matter what the market ratio of the two metals might be, just as the present French law makes an ounce of gold

worth fifteen and a half ounces of silver, regardless of the real ratio. In the former case, however, the proportion was arbitrary from the beginning, while in the other the rate was considered in 1785 to be the true one. The fluctuations were, as might be expected, frequent and great. At one time a silver copek was worth one hundred and fifty copper ones, although by statute they were declared to be of one and the same value. It was not until 1810, after much misery had been inflicted upon the people; that silver became the lawful standard, and it has remained so to the present day, although by a decree of 1876 coins are no longer struck for private account.

Spain, the principal recipient of the gold and silver of the new world, was reduced to a state of bankruptcy by the vast quantities of copper coins issued at a large profit to the government, which were made legal tender for any amount and which became the sole currency of the country. Weisse, the historian, writes: "Manufacturers hid their merchandise and work was everywhere interrupted. Gold and silver were either hoarded or exported, all confidence in the government was destroyed and merchants even refused to advance provisions for the royal table on credit; bankruptcy terminated worthily the disastrous reign of Philip the Fourth in 1665."

The impossibility of establishing a permanent ratio between copper and silver was abundantly demonstrated in most countries, but it was not until the early part of this century that England learnt the lesson fully, when she was obliged to recoin her copper money. That money having been issued with its intrinsic value equal to its nominal, and the price of copper having risen in the market, a penny was no longer worth the two hundred and fortieth part of a gold sovereign, but considerably more, so much more that the copper pieces began to be hoarded. I quote from Ruding: "the price of copper having risen, the subsequent issues were reduced in size and all the time the old Tower

half-pence of a weight still inferior were suffered to circulate with them. The consequence of this deviation from the first and most important principle of coinage was such as might surely have been easily foreseen. Whenever copper happened to rise in price the lean coins soon devoured the fat ones." "From a sudden rise in price of copper (1805) the greater part of the penny and two-penny pieces disappeared, because they were worth, when melted down, nearly one-third more than their value as coins."

Our own country had the same experience during Washington's administration, when the copper money had to be reduced in weight, as it was stated, "on account of the increased price of copper and the expense of coinage."

Even as late as 1852 there was considerable opposition in France to the reduction of the copper coinage to an even metric weight, making the ten-centime piece ten grammes in weight, the five five grammes and the one centime one gramme, it being argued that the effect of reducing that coinage in weight would be to rob the poor. But it was then fully shown that the intrinsic value of a token money need not be equal to its nominal, and in fact that it ought to be below the possible limit of fluctuations.

With the few temporary exceptions cited above, silver has been in Europe the standard of value since Charlemagne's time until the present century. The period in which gold became the sole measure of value in France in 1577 was so short that it need not be taken into account. The fact is interesting, however, as showing an early effort made by some of the enlightened French political economists to make silver subordinate and to place gold in a commanding position to which it was then entitled from the debasement of the silver coins and the falling value of that metal. This action of France anticipates that of England by nearly two hundred and fifty years. It had been found impossible to make the people accept the gold and silver coins at a rate fixed by law. As Le Blanc says:

“the people put what price they pleased on the coins,” and Secousse, one of the old French writers, adds his testimony by saying: “France is full of a great quantity of coins of different weights and fineness, the price of which depends entirely upon the will and caprice of the public.” “Foreign money is also received in business, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king, and the people alone determine the value of it.” The uncertainty became so great that the people tried to protect themselves against the frequent fluctuations by stipulating for payments in definite weights of metal. As the gold money had been much less tampered with than the silver it was decreed in 1577 that “the gold écu should be taken as the basis and only foundation of all accounts, values and estimations.” Unfortunately, according to Le Blanc, the partisans of the old order of things had sufficient influence to restore silver to its former position, and it was ordered in 1602 that all contracts must be again based on the silver livre.

After the restoration of silver the financial situation became so intolerable (the gold écu which by the law of 1574 was valued at fifty-eight silver sols having risen to seventy-two sols in 1609), that a meeting was called of experts from all parts of the kingdom to devise some remedy, but before anything was accomplished, the King, Henry IV., died. From that time until a few years ago silver has remained the measure of value in France. The linking together of gold and silver at a fixed ratio regardless of the market value and treating them upon an equality has had the effect, as Levasseur states, of leaving France, as it did other bimetallic countries, always in possession of the cheapest metal. He writes in 1858, when discussing the gold question, “Ten years ago our gold was taken from us, now our silver is being carried off, and every time the market price differs from the official one, the dearest of the metals is exported from the country.”

In the present century England has been the first to

recognize officially the impracticability of establishing a permanent ratio between gold and silver by making gold the sole measure of value, and her example has been followed by the leading nations, sufficient gold from California and Australia having been added to the metallic currency of the world to allow them to do so. The outpouring of the gold mines since 1849 has had precisely the same effect as the addition of the oriental gold had upon the Roman monetary system.

So far as the metal is concerned the chief countries of the world are now prepared for the selection of an international unit.

It would be an interesting study to examine in detail the gradual extension of the Roman money system, absorbing as it did, the various coinages of northern and central Italy, the cities of Magna Grecia and Sicily, the states and towns of Greece, including the monetary leagues (which resembled to a great extent the Latin and Scandinavian unions of the present time), the kingdom of Egypt and the various systems of Asia Minor. The process of assimilation was slow, as many of the mints situated in the conquered provinces were allowed to retain for some time the right of coining a local currency, very much as England has permitted in many instances the continuance of local currencies in her colonies, but by the time of Diocletian the whole coinage of the empire was concentrated in the imperial hands, and a coin struck in Rome was current from the Atlantic to the confines of Persia.

After the breaking up of the Empire into many independent fragments the monetary unity ceased, and by the time that feudalism was at its height, when local independence was carried to an extreme, when, as a writer says, "every temporal and spiritual baron considered himself as the king of his peculiar district and presuming upon the weakness of the executive government assumed all the prerogatives of royalty and especially the valuable one of striking money,"

the multiplicity of systems caused serious inconvenience. In England, for instance, during Stephen's reign more than eleven hundred owners of castles usurped the right of striking money. As the chronicler writes: "from these dens of thieves issued the greater part of the base money which brought incalculable mischiefs upon the people." In addition to these "unauthorized mints," as they are called by Ruding, which were destroyed by Henry II., there were many royal and ecclesiastical ones, over which it was difficult and in many cases impossible to exercise proper watchfulness, as is shown by the record of punishments inflicted on the mint officials.

Out of this chaos order grew slowly. Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lee, the Archbishop of York, in Henry VIII.'s time, were the last of the ecclesiastics who exercised the right of striking money, but it was not until "the reign of Mary that the custom of coining in the subordinate royal mints entirely ceased." The English system spread to Scotland in 1706 after the union was cemented. That is, as far as the gold and silver coins were concerned. The copper money of England was not placed on a satisfactory footing until the beginning of this century. The reform of the copper coinage, as token money, had been very slow. In 1611 Sir Robert Cotton states that there were then in London three thousand persons issuing token money, and about the same number in the rest of England. As many of these tokens were never redeemed the loss to the public was great. Petition after petition was sent to the government begging that some remedy might be applied to the evil, and finally all private issues were forbidden. In 1826 the Irish money was made of the same weight and fineness as that of England, which completed the monetary unity of the three kingdoms.

The experience of France was very much like that of England. During the reign of Hugh Capet there were, according to Hallam, one hundred and fifty private mints

in the country, while Le Blanc asserts that "every petty noble usurped the privilege of coining." The right was also conferred by the royal authority upon many, especially ecclesiastics. So great became the confusion from the variety of coins of different weights and fineness in circulation that in 1321, Philip the Long attempted to establish one set of weights, measures and money for the entire kingdom, "so that the people, as the proclamation reads, can transact business more surely." The royal proclamation was the result of a meeting of deputies assembled for the purpose seven years before, who recommended that all the nobles should be prohibited from coining for a certain length of time, "otherwise the kingdom would never have good money." The projected reform met with such opposition from the privileged classes that very little progress was then made, a few nobles only giving back their right to the royal authority upon receiving a certain sum for the loss entailed. The impulse was, however, given resulting ultimately in the establishment of a single system, the seigneurs of Boisselle being the last of the nobles to avail themselves of their privilege in the eighteenth century. It is singular that, while the central government was regaining the sole right of striking money, it should have permitted a dual system of its own to exist for four hundred years. The livre tournois, so named from the city of Tours, and the livre parisien or livre of Paris were two units existing side by side. The livre of Paris was worth one and a quarter livre tournois and both livres were used constantly in business transactions. The anomaly ceased, however, in the reign of Louis XIV. who made the livre tournois the sole unit of the monarchy, which being very slightly changed, so as to make it weigh exactly five metric grammes, became the franc during the Revolution.

We can hardly realize the monetary confusion of France that resulted not only from the number of independent mints issuing money of various weights and degrees of fine-

ness, but also from the constant official debasements of the coins themselves and the legal changes made in their valuation. Levasseur gives the number of alterations made by the government from the twelfth century to the eighteenth as two hundred and fifty for the silver money and one hundred and forty-seven for the gold. There were, also, many foreign coins in circulation, which do not seem to have been driven from the country by stringent laws and severe penalties, for we find the prohibition to use them renewed in almost every reign. In addition there were large quantities of counterfeit money, owing to the facility given by the various weights and different degrees of alloy used, notwithstanding the papal bulls of excommunication issued against the malefactors, which apparently produced no effect.

It would be tedious to enumerate the names of the cities, duchies, principalities and kingdoms in Italy that struck coins of various denominations. Vincenzo Promis in his thorough work gives the number of Italian mints, including the Papal, as two hundred and fifty during a period extending from Charlemagne's reign to the present century. The want of uniformity and simplicity was strongly felt, and Searuffi, one of the early Italian political economists, proposed in 1579 that all the Italian states should use the pound of Bologna as the unit of weight. He proposed further that all coins should bear numbers indicating their weight and fineness and also the number required to weigh a pound, securing in this way, as he says, "their universal currency, as if the world were a single city or monarchy." The present century has finally seen the various Italian systems merged into the French, which gradually extended from Piedmont, where it was introduced in 1793, to Genoa in 1827, then to the island of Sardinia in 1843 and ultimately throughout the whole peninsula and the island of Sicily.

In Germany a similar development can be observed.

The local mints and local systems were numerous, even a private individual like the banker Fugger of Augsburg possessing the right of coinage, which was exercised by his family for nearly a hundred years. The Archbishop of Cologne retained his privilege until 1801, and the Archbishop of Mayence until 1803. Before the establishment of the Empire in 1870 the number of systems had been somewhat reduced, so that there were in currency only seventeen gold coins of different values and sixty-six silver ones.

The experience of our own country, although brief in point of time, is instructive. The modified English system prevailing in the colonies, modified in regard to weight, the Dutch system of the New Netherlands, the Swedish system of New Sweden existing for a short time on the banks of the Delaware, the Spanish and French systems of Florida, Louisiana, Texas and California have disappeared. The right of striking money taken from the States and conferred upon the national government has given us a coinage current from the Atlantic to the Pacific. So accustomed are we to a single and simple system, embracing our vast area, that we can hardly picture to ourselves the condition of Switzerland where up to the year 1850, when the French system was introduced, each canton preserving its sovereign right, there were in circulation "all kinds of German thalers, German florins, Austrian zwanzigers, French money and about one hundred and sixty cantonal coins." The American system now embracing the Dominion of Canada and the distant Empire of Japan is one of the claimants for universal adoption.

India has at present a single money system; Java has adopted the Dutch coinage, while China has this year entered upon a reform of her copper money, which will eventually lead to a change in her whole system. In speaking of the impending change in China the *London Economist* remarks: "It used to be said that every street

in Peking had its own money weights, touch of silver and degrees of depreciation in its cash, and the same confused differences prevail more or less throughout the Empire."

By this brief review it is seen that out of the chaos of the middle ages a few distinct monetary systems have emerged, that present claims for universal acceptance. The English pound claims a present commercial supremacy and in addition it has become the unit of the growing empire of Australia. The French system now extends from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Black Sea, as the Austrian eight florin piece has been made the equivalent of the twenty franc piece and has these two denominations stamped upon it, while Greece, Servia, Roumania and the duchy of Finland have ranged themselves under the same system, and the Argentine Republic made in 1881 its five peso piece to be worth exactly twenty-five francs. The unit of the newly created German system can scarcely be considered as a claimant for general use, but any proposed international coin must meet some of the requirements of that country.

It is quite evident that we have now reached a point in the progress towards unification when we should consider fully the essential conditions of an international unit and decide upon the best without national prejudice.

The unit to be adopted ought to be a gold coin of a convenient size, of a weight and fineness that will change the existing systems as little as possible. The weight and alloy might be indicated on the coin itself, so that the people may learn to estimate its value not for its name, but for its intrinsic worth. As the French metric system has been adopted by many countries and seems destined to further extension, in England and America probably by making the pound equal to half a kilogramme, the weight of the coin should be a definite one of that system.

The very statement of the conditions suggests the solution. The English pound, the American half-eagle, the Japanese five yen piece, the Austrian eight florin, the Ger-

man twenty mark, the Spanish twenty-five peseta, the Argentine five peso, the twenty-five franc piece struck by Belgium in 1848 and proposed in 1867 by Napoleon the III. for France, approach each other very closely, so closely that a slight change in each of them—very slight compared to the alterations which all systems have undergone in the past—would make them of equal weight and fineness. A gold coin weighing eight grammes nine-tenths fine would be a compromise upon which all could unite. Such a coin, which would still be called a sovereign, five dollars, twenty marks and twenty-five francs, would leave the subordinate silver and copper money untouched, and retain the nomenclature and divisions of the different systems as they now are. A point of contact would be secured, while each national coinage would be locally independent.

It seems eminently fitting that our country should be the first to propose officially such a unit. Standing among the foremost of the progressive nations, with local prejudices less deeply rooted than those of other countries, any plan offered by us would receive respectful and attentive consideration.

THE CAMBRIDGE PRESS.

BY ANDREW MCF. DAVIS.

A COLLECTION of Dunster MSS. in the archives of Harvard College, contains much that is interesting. Several of the papers in this collection have already been published, copies of the same documents having been preserved elsewhere. Many of them relate to the controversy between the heirs of the Glover Estate and Dunster, in which various suits were tried in 1656.¹ The question of the ownership of the press came thus to be considered, and an attempt was apparently made to ascertain the profits on the several publications while it was under Dunster's superintendence. From papers bearing on these points some new information can be obtained.

Two items entered in the College Books concerning the press and the first font of letters at Cambridge, have especially attracted the attention of those who have written about the early benefactors of the college. The first of these is the entry made by President Hoar in 1674, of the names of the "Benefactors of the first font of Letters for Printing in Cambridge, New England." The second is the statement that "Jos. Glover" gave to the college a "font of printing letters" and that "some gentlemen of Amsterdam gave towards the furnishing of a Printing Press with letters, forty nine pounds and something more."

¹ In an old steward's Account Book in the archives, credit is given Longe, a student, on the 9th. of the 10th, 1653—as follows:

Paid to the President by intering two actiones	1 ^{lb} : 0: 0.
and again on the 9th of the 4th, 1654—	

Paid by Mr. Dunster 20* by two actiones	1 ^{lb} : 0: 0.
---	-------------------------

These are both credits given Longe for money advanced to Dunster for some purpose, and I know of no other interpretation that can be given to them than that the money so advanced was applied in payment of court fees in some of Dunster's litigations.

"Joss. Glover" whose name is recorded as a benefactor of the college, sailed in 1638 for New England, bringing with him a printing press, types and a practical printer. Glover died on the passage. Dunster married his widow, and it is through this circumstance that a doubt is raised about the ownership of the press. We can trace the types into the hands of the college through the entry above quoted. Stephen Daye, the practical printer, came to Cambridge and worked the press. In this collection of papers we have the bond given by him to "Josse Glover" for the return of moneys advanced by Glover. In the information given by the Corporation and Overseers to the General Court in 1655, we have the statement that the "College hath as appears by the Inventory thereof, a few utensils with the press." We also know from the same source that the press was then in the President's house; that the revenue from it was small, and that the working of the press was not only inconvenient but was considered hurtful and dangerous. There would be no reason to doubt that the college was the owner of the press were it not for the papers in the suit of "Glover against Dunster," in which the jury by their verdict charged Dunster with the following item, "The Presse & the P'fitt of it £40."

At a later period in the controversy, all matters in dispute between Dunster and those who were interested in the Joss. Glover estate were submitted to the court and in the decision of the court Dunster was charged with the following item: "To printing presse & paper £50."¹

¹ Among the papers on file at East Cambridge, in the suit of John Glover against Henry Dunster, there is a paper headed "Mr Dunster acknowledge to receive." One of the items of the paper is "Presse & p'fit £40.00.00." Stephen Daye also made an affidavit as to the value of the press, as follows: "I Steven Daye aged 62 years do attest that the charges wch Mr Glover expended in Engl. for the p'curing of the Printing Presse was besides freight & other petty expenses at least twenty pounds the wch Presse hath been imp'ved by order of Mr Dunster as appeareth by another testimony I have given in, also I do attest that the same materials that were brought over hither as above said are worth in this place at least 40^{lb}."

Sworn in court. 2 (2) '56

THO. DANFORTH, Recorder."

Among the papers in the College archives is one which may help in solving this question. It is an affidavit made by Stephen Daye as to the cost of the paper received by Dunster and the amount then remaining in his possession. It was evidently used in the suits connected with the Glover estate. It was dated 1, (2). 56. and contains this clause: "until such time as Mr Dunster sould the presse to the college upon his removall from thence." Here we have the ownership of the press by the college fixed and the manner described in which it was obtained. The assertion is made by Thomas in his *History of Printing* that the press owned by the college must have been the Glover Press. Thomas, so far as appears, arrived at this conclusion from sources of information independent of this affidavit, and notwithstanding he was aware that Dunster was charged with the press in the findings of the court.¹

In one of the papers in the archives, estimates are given of the paper required for, and the cost of printing several of the early publications at Cambridge. Joseph Willard, to whom this paper was submitted, easily identified its purpose, and in a letter to T. W. Harris, which is on file with the Dunster MSS., he states that it must have been prepared for use in the Glover suits.²

¹ Thomas publishes several of the papers in these Glover suits in notes to his first volume.

² The following affidavit, filed among the papers of the Glover-Dunster suits, shows that Mr. Willard's conclusion was correct: "Wee whose names are under written being desired to give an acct of the revenues of the Printing Presse during the time it was imp'ved by Mr Dunster, and for that end having spent some time togethr to recount the sev'all impressions that have gone forth from the same during the time that Mr Dunster had the dispose thereof. We do find that a just allowance being given for the hier of the laborers about ye presse, [or at least such as was allowed to the printers], and for the paper with other smal expenses for utensils about the presse the remainder of the Profits doth amount to about 192^{lb} 00^s 00^d. Weh we do conceive to be the truth according to or best knowledge being employed about the workes and in witnes thereof do subscribe or names this 26, 11 mo, 1655.

STEVEN DAY
SAMUEL GREEN"

The paper mentioned in the text has neither date nor signature. It was by means of the memoranda in it that Mr. Willard identified its purpose. The net

The paper was folded when the notations upon it were made, precisely as sheets are folded to form a quarto. The notations were, however, all made upon one face of the sheet, and when it was inserted in the book in which it is now preserved, the sheet was flattened out. This not only threw the entries out of their natural sequence, but also inverted some of them.¹ It was only after an attempt to restore the items in position in order to inspect them all at one and the same time, that I could see that they were not only classified under the headings "Printed by Mr. Day" and "By Bro. Green," but that there was also a probable chronological sequence in the entries of the titles of the books, based upon the dates of their publication.

The entries, under the heading "Printed by Mr. Day," upon the first page as the sheet was folded, are a number of calculations with reference to the Psalm Book, the Law Book and other books, the apparent purpose of which was to fix the amounts received by Dunster from the sale of the books, the amount and value of the paper required for them, and the expense of printing them. Certain palpable errors of entry in some of the columns would indicate that the estimate was a hastily made abstract of the work done by Daye and Green, the main results being correctly preserved, while no pains were taken to compare the separate items. Parallel with the entries alluded to and on the opposite, or succeeding page, were a series of entries giving details concerning several of the publications. They are as follows :

Freeman's Oath.²

Psa. booke.³ 33 sheets 1700 collated

charges against Dunster in the estimates were for books published in Daye's time £114. 12. 1, in Green's time £78 — total £192. 12s. 01^d. The calculations were rough and did not include a number of books which were issued from the Cambridge press during this period.

¹ See Appendix, page 302.

² Printed by S. Daye, Cambridge, 1639. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 309.

³ The Whole Booke of Psalms, &c. Imprinted 1640. Ibid., p. 309.

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Sold at 20 ^d a piece	141 ^{lb} : 13 : 04
to abate for printing	33 : 00 : 00
	<hr/>
	108 : 13 : 04
Spent 116 Rheams pap ^r	
worth a Rheam	29. 00. 00
	<hr/>
79 : 13 : 04	79 : 13 : 04
The Capital Lawes. ¹	
The Spelling Books. ²	
Against these two titles is written "These might take 7 Rheams of Paper."	
The Declaration of the Narragansett Warr. ³	
The Lawe Booke ⁴ 17 : sheet 600 : collated.	
Sould at 17 ^d a booke	42 : 10 : 00
to abate for printing	15 : 16 : 03
	<hr/>
	26 : 13 : 09
Spent 21 Rheams of Paper	5 : 05 : 00
	<hr/>
at 5. 05. 00	21 : 8 : 09
Then follows a similar estimate with regard to "Mr Norriss's Katechism." ⁵	

¹ 1642—The Capital Laws of Massachusetts Bay, with the Freeman's Oath. Ordered to be printed, 18th 3d month, 1642. [Col. Rec.] Mentioned, as printed in Massachusetts, in the Preface to New England's Jonas cast up at London. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

² No spelling book is mentioned in the list given in the Transactions of the Am. Ant. Soc.

³ 1645. A Declaration of Former Passages and Proceedings Betwixt the English and the Narragansetts. 4to. [Daye]. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 310.

⁴ The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes &c. Published 1649. Referred to in the Mass. records of May, 1648, as now in Presse. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 310.

The Entry of the Book of Laws and Liberties by Mr. Haven under the year 1649, apparently throws it among Green's Books. The reference to the fact that it was in press in 1648 to a certain extent rectifies this, but it is classed in this estimate, as it properly should be among Daye's books.

⁵ There was a "Katechism" printed by Daye in 1641. No other Catechism is given in the lists of his publications. It is natural to seek to identify "Mr. Norriss's Katechism" with the one published in 1641. That was, however, known as a Catechism "Agreed upon by the Elders." Believing that there is a chronological sequence in the arrangement of these publications, I think this must be a book concerning which nothing is known.

The foregoing items are taken from two pages of the sheet. By inverting the paper two other pages may be inspected, and these I think were intended to be classified under the heading "By Bro. Green." On the first, in the order in which I place them, estimates concerning the following publications are to be found:

Sinod Books.¹

Mr. Danforth's Katechism.²

The Psalm Book.³

The last and only remaining entry on the first page, devoted to Green's publications, reads as follows:

Lawes ⁴ 5 sheets	12 : 00 : 00
abate for paper	1 : 05 : 00
for print	5 :
	<hr/>
	5 : 15 : 00

On the Second of these pages we have estimates of the following publications:

"Mr. Mather's booke, 7 sheetes & $\frac{1}{2}$;"⁵ "The Indian Primer;"⁶ and "Almanacks and Thesis 5 years."⁷

¹A Platform of Church Discipline &c 1649. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 310.

Mr. Haven has placed this before the Laws and Liberties, in his chronological sequence. The Laws and Liberties was apparently credited to Daye.

The Synod Book bears Green's imprint.

²The comment made with reference to Norriss's Catechism applies to this.

³1650. The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, &c., &c. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 311.

⁴The Laws "agreed upon to be printed" by order of the General Court, Oct. 15, 1650. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 311.

If the theory be accepted that these titles are arranged chronologically according to their publication, then we have no difficulty in identifying this title as the "Lawes, 5 sheets."

⁵1652. Mather, Richard, The Summe of Certain Sermons upon Genes. &c &c. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 311.

⁶This is not so easy of identification, but applying the test of chronological sequence, it seems probable that the "Indian Primer" was John Eliot's "Catechism in the Indian Language," printed 1653-4. Transactions Am. Ant. Soc., Vol. VI., p. 311.

The Massachusetts Commissioners were authorized to print an edition of 500 or a thousand copies. See Hazard's State Papers II. 299 & 300.

⁷Green's publications began in 1649. The titles of only two almanacs are preserved—in the years 1649-1655—and not a single thesis is mentioned. When we reflect that the "Book of Laws and Liberties," published in 1648, by author-

The foregoing list, although far from complete, if intended to include all the publications at Cambridge during the period which it covers, nevertheless adds a catechism and a spelling book to the books known to have been published by Daye, and it adds to the list of books published by Green, a catechism and three almanacs. If the identification of the Indian primer with Eliot's Catechism be not accepted, then that also must be added. The "Thesis" coupled with the Almanacs in the list may have referred to a single thesis, or it may have meant that there was a thesis with each almanac. In the titles of the two almanacs which have been preserved, there is no mention made of College Theses.

Perhaps the most singular feature of this collection is that so many books are omitted of whose publication by Daye or Greene during this period we have indisputable evidence.

In the course of the legal controversies between Dunster and the Glover Estate, the counsel of the Glovers left no stone unturned in their search for charges which could be piled up against Dunster. On the other hand he filed accounts against the various members of the Glover family of the most minute and detailed character. The omission of these books must have been intentional. For some reason or other their publication had netted Dunster no profits to which the Glover Estate could lay claim. Unsatisfactory as are deductions made from inadequate premises like the fragmentary annotations in this memorandum from the Dunster-Glover suits, the ephemeral character of the publications of the Cambridge Press compels us to welcome information even from such sources as this.

ity of the General Court, is not extant, we can easily conceive that the greater part of publications like Almanacs and Thesis, to which only a transient interest attached, would probably disappear. Thomas expresses the opinion that at least one almanac was published each year. This entry tends to show that he was right.

There is a curious entry in the Old Steward's Account Book already referred to which bears closely on this point. Bulkley is charged on the 11th of the 4th, 1652, as follows:

Payd to Sam Grean for apes (?) book alminackes and cutting his haire 3^s 8^d

If the Steward had realized the value of this entry he might perhaps have been more specific.

APPENDIX.

**ESTIMATE OF DUNSTER'S PROFITS, SHOWING THE MANNER IN WHICH
THE ITEMS ARE ENTERED.**

78. 00. 00	78. 00. 00	78. 00. 00	78. 00. 00
5. 00. 0	5. 00. 0	5. 00. 0	5. 00. 0
3. 06. 0	3. 06. 0	3. 06. 0	3. 06. 0
6. 15. 0	6. 15. 0	6. 15. 0	6. 15. 0
5. 16. 0	5. 16. 0	5. 16. 0	5. 16. 0
42. 10. 0	42. 10. 0	42. 10. 0	42. 10. 0
5. 00. 0	5. 00. 0	5. 00. 0	5. 00. 0
9. 15. 0	9. 15. 0	9. 15. 0	9. 15. 0
Almanacks & thests 5 years	Almanacks 13 rd 4 th p ann.	ann. the whole 5 th	
rest	rest		
8. 05	6. 15		
6. 00. 00	0. 15. 00		
10. 00 - 00	6. 00. 00		
Indian Primer -	Paper		
to the Printer			
rest 6-15-0	11. 05. 0		
6. 15	11. 05. 0		
for paper	2. 05. 0		
9. 0. 0	9. 0. 0		
for the whole	18. 00. 00		
Mr Mathers book 7 sheets 2 1/2			
Freeman's Oath			
Psa booke 33 sheets 1700 collated			
141 th 13. 04			
33. 00. 00			
to abate for printing			
101 : 13 : 04			
29 : 0 : 0			
79 : 13 : 04			
79 - 13 - 04			
Spent 116 Rheams papr			
worth a Rheam			
The Capital Lawes These might take			
The Spelling Books 7 Rheams of paper			
The Declaration of the Narragansett			
Warr 1648:			
The Lawe Booke 17: sheet 600: collated			
42: 10: 00			
Sould at 17 ^d a booke			
15: 16: 03			
to abate for printing			
26: 13: 00			
Spent 21 Rheams of paper			
at 5 th . 05. 00			
5. 05. 00			
21. 8. 00			
In Norriss's Katechism			
about 3 Rheam Paper			
7. 10. 00			
to abate for printing			
1. 00. 00			
3. 00. 00			
3. 10. 00			
79. 13. 04			
21. 08. 09			
104. 12. 10			

THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

BY JOHN M. MERRIAM.

It is the purpose of this sketch to show the progress, step by step, of the congressional action which culminated in the "Ordinance of 1787."

The Continental Congress, even before those lands which later became the subject of the Northwest Ordinance were ceded to the United States, committed itself to a policy which determined (1) that the lands in the Northwest should be held as the common property of all the States, and (2) that ultimately they should be divided into States and admitted into the Union on equal terms with the original States.

Maryland refused to ratify the articles of confederation unless the western country which was unsettled at the beginning of the Revolution and was claimed by the British crown, and "had been wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States," should be ceded, by the States claiming title to it, to the United States to be held for the general good of all.¹

New Jersey, in the act to authorize her delegates to ratify the Articles of Confederation, declared "that every separate and detached state interest ought to be postponed to the general good of the Union"; and Delaware expressed the same conviction.²

It was in response to these expressions on the part of the different States, and especially as an answer to the determined demand of Maryland, that Congress, on the

¹ Journals of Congress III. 282. ² Journals of Congress III. pp. 185, 201.

recommendation of a committee to whom had been referred the instructions of Maryland to her delegates, the remonstrance of Virginia to the amendment proposed by Maryland, and the proposed cession of New York, made a call upon all the States having claims to western lands to cede them for the general benefit. This resolution was adopted September 6, 1780.¹

More definite provision was made October 10, 1780, for lands that might be ceded in pursuance of the above resolution. It was resolved :—

“That the unappropriated lands which may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular state, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress of the 6th day of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican states, which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence, as the other states; that each state which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: That the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular state shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed.

“That the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or any nine or more of them.”²

The Ordinance of 1787 is but the elaboration of the plan outlined in these two resolutions. By adopting them Congress assumed power to receive these lands from the States; promised to hold them for the general good of the United States; took upon itself jurisdiction over the territory and its settlers when the former should be ceded and settled; and promised the settlers admission into the Union on terms of equality with the original States.

New York had offered to relinquish her claim February 19, 1780. Connecticut and Virginia, in answer to the

¹Journals of Congress III. 517.

²Journals of Congress III. 535.

resolution of September 6, tendered deeds of cession October 10, 1780, and January 2, 1781, respectively.¹ By these deeds of cession the subject of the government of the Northwest was presented to Congress for legislation. A committee was appointed and a report was made November 3, 1781. The original draft of this report is in the Papers of the Old Congress, Vol. 30, in the State Department at Washington. It is endorsed: "Report of Com^{ee} on Cessions of New York, Virginia, & Connecticut, & Petitions of the Indiana, Vandalia, Illinois & Wabash Companies. Delivered and read Nov^r 3^d, 1781. No. 1." This report recommends the acceptance of the offer of New York, and the rejection of those of Connecticut and Virginia, as the latter contained conditions to which it was not deemed wise for Congress to assent, and which were finally modified. The report concluded with several resolutions on the subject of the government of the territory covered by the deeds of cession:

Resolved, That whenever the United States in Congress assembled shall find it for the good of the Union to permit new settlements on unappropriated lands, they will erect a new State or States, to be taken into the federal Union, in such manner that no one State so erected, shall exceed the quantity of 130 miles square and that the same shall be laid out into Townships of the quantity of about six miles square.

Resolved, That whenever such new State or States shall be erected, that the *bona fide* settlers within the same, at the time of the erection of such States, shall be confirmed in their respective Titles to their reasonable settlements on the same terms as shall be allowed to other new settlers.

Resolved, That Congress will reimburse all just and reasonable Expenses that may have heretofore accrued to any of the States since the present Revolution, in conquering, protecting or defending any of the unappropriated Lands so erected into a State or States.

Resolved, that nothing herein before determined by Congress, shall be construed so as to suppose any claim or right on Congress in point of property of soil, to any Lands belonging to the Indian Nations, unless the same have been *bona fide* purchased of them by the Crown of England, or which may hereafter be purchased by the United States in Congress assembled, for the use of the United States, and that at a publick Treaty to be held for that purpose."

¹ Public Domain, 67, 72.

This report was recommitted to Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Jenifer, Mr. T. Smith and Mr. Livermore. A second report, containing exactly the same resolutions that have been quoted from the first report, was read April 10, 1782, and April 15 was assigned for its consideration. The report was entered in the Journal but no action was taken upon it. It is this report that Bancroft calls "most elaborate."¹ It is a careful summary of the claims of New York and Virginia, and also of the companies which disputed the claims of the States.

Theodorick Bland of Virginia brought forward the next proposition touching the government of the northwest lands. He made a motion

"That the said Territory shall be laid off in districts not exceeding two degrees of Latitude & three degrees of Longitude each, and each district in townships, not exceeding - - - - miles square. That the lines of said district shall be run at the expense of the United States by surveyors appointed by the U. S. in Congress assembled and amenable to Congress for their conduct, that each of the said districts shall, when it contains 20,000 male inhabitants, become and ever after be and constitute a separate and independant (*sic*) free & sovereign state and be admitted into the Union as such with all the privileges and immunities of those states which now compose the Union."

There is one clause in Bland's motion to which attention ought especially to be called. In it was a provision for the support of schools. He proposed to grant thirty acres of land to every revolutionary soldier for every dollar that appeared to be due to him. To the statement of the terms of this grant was added the proviso:—

"That out of every hundred thousand acres so granted, there shall be reserved as a domain for the use of the United States, ten thousand acres, each of which ten thousand acres shall remain forever a common property of the United States, inalienable but by the consent of the U. S. in Congress assembled—the rents issues profits and produce of which lands when any such shall arise to be appropriated to the Payment of the Civil List of the United States, the erecting positive forts, the founding Seminaries of Learning and the Surplus after such purposes (if any) to be appropriated to the Building and equipping a Navy."²

¹ History of United States, Vol. VI., '81.

² Papers of Old Congress, No. 36, Vol. II.

Hamilton seconded this motion. According to the endorsement on the original draft, it was made June 5, 1783, and referred to the Grand Committee of May 30. In apparent contradiction of this endorsement it is stated in the Journals of Congress, June 4, 1783, that

“the committee consisting of Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Bedford, Mr. Carroll, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Wilson to whom was referred a motion of Mr. Bland for accepting the cession of territory made by the legislature of the commonwealth of Virginia, on the 2nd day of January, 1781, report, that in their opinion, it will be proper for Congress to proceed to a determination on the report of the 3rd of November, 1781, and which is entered on the journal of the 1st of May, 1782, respecting the cession from the state of Virginia, and that a decision upon the said motion be postponed until that report shall be taken into consideration.”¹

This report shows that the report which was made November 3, 1781, was deemed still to be pending before Congress.

In October, 1783, Congress, for the third time, started anew to devise a plan for the temporary government of the western territory. This effort is plainly due to Washington. September 7, 1783, Washington wrote a long letter to James Duane, then a delegate in Congress from New York, in which he recommended an adjustment of the difficulties with the Indian tribes, a division of the western territory and a provision for the admission of States. (Sparks VIII. 439). A committee was appointed of which Duane was Chairman, and Peters, Carroll, Hawkins and A. Lee, associates. The following resolutions, in addition to those dealing with Indian troubles, were reported and adopted, October 15, 1783 :

“*Resolved*, That it will be wise and necessary, as soon as circumstances shall permit, to erect a district of the western territory into a distinct government, as well for doing justice to the army of the United States, who are entitled to such lands as a bounty, or in reward of their services, as for the accommodation of such as may incline to become purchasers and inhabitants; and in the interim, that a committee be appointed to report a plan, consistent with the principles of the confederation, for connecting with the union by a temporary government, the

¹ Journals of Congress IV., 226-227.

purchasers and inhabitants of the said district, until their number and circumstances shall entitle them to form a permanent constitution for themselves, and as citizens of a free, sovereign and independent state, to be admitted to a representation in the union; provided always, that such constitution shall not be incompatible with the republican principles, which are the basis of the constitutions of the respective states in the union."¹

It was probably in pursuance of these resolutions that Jefferson of Virginia, Chase of Maryland, and Howell of Rhode Island were appointed a committee to report an ordinance. Their report was presented March 1st, 1784, the very day when Virginia's modified deed of cession was delivered to Congress. This report is among the papers in the State Department. It is endorsed as follows: "Report. Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase, Mr. Howell. Temporary government of Western Country. Delivered 1 March 1784. Ent.— Read—Mch 3, Monday next assigned for consideration of this report. Mch 17, 1784 recommitted."

The full text is given below, copied from the original manuscript, which is in the hand-writing of Jefferson. The published copy of this report in The Public Domain is inaccurate in at least one important particular.

"The Committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the Western territory have agreed to the following resolutions.

Resolved that the territory ceded or to be ceded by Individual States WHENSOEVER THE SAME SHALL HAVE BEEN PURCHASED OF THE INDIAN INHABITANTS & OFFERED FOR SALE BY THE U. S. [interlineation in another hand] shall be formed into distinct States, bounded in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit, that is to say; Northwardly and Southwardly by parallels of latitude so that each State shall comprehend from South to North two degrees of latitude beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees North of the Equator, but any territory Northwardly of the 47th degree shall make part of the state next below, and Eastwardly and Westwardly they shall be bounded, those on the Missisipi by that river on one side and the meridian of the lowest point of the rapids of the Ohio on the other; and those adjoining on the East by the same meridian on their Western side, and on their Eastern by the meridian of the Western cape of the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, And the territory Eastward of this last

¹Journals of Congress IV., 296.

meridian between the Ohio, Lake Erie, & Pennsylvania shall be one state.

That the settlers within (*any of the said states*) THE TERRITORY SO TO BE PURCHASED & OFFERED FOR SALE [erasure and interlineation in another hand] shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place, for their free males of full age to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of these states, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature, and to erect subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature.

That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants; when giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointments of time and place to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent constitution and government for themselves.

Provided that both the temporary & permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis. 1. [That they shall ever remain a part of the United States of America] 2. that in their persons, property and territory they shall be subject to the government of the United States in Congress assembled, and to the Articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject. 3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states. 4. That their respective governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title. 5. That after the year 1800 of the Christian aera, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whensoever any of the sd states shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one of the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states: after which the assent of two-thirds of the United States in Congress assembled shall be requisite in all those cases, wherein by the Confederation the assent of nine states is now required, provided the consent of nine states to such admission may be obtained according to the eleventh of the articles of Confederation. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said states, after the establishment of their temporary government, shall have authority to keep a sitting member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

That the territory Northward of the 45th degree, that is to say of

the completion of 45° from the Equator & extending to the Lake of the Woods, shall be called SYLVANIA.

That of the territory under the 45th & 44th degrees of that which lies Westward of Lake Michigan shall be called MICHIGANIA, and that which is Eastward thereof within the peninsula formed by the lakes and waters of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, and Erie shall be called CHERSONESUS and shall include any part of the peninsula which may extend above the 45th degree.

Of the territory under the 43d & 42d degrees, that to the Westward thro' which the Assenisipi or Rock river runs shall be called ASSENISIPIA, and that to the Eastward in which are the fountains of the Muskingum, the two Miamis of Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Miami of the lake and Sandusky rivers, shall be called METROPOTAMIA.

Of the territory which lies under the 41st & 40th degrees, the Western, thro' which the river Illinois runs, shall be called ILLINOIA; that next adjoining Eastward SARATOGA, and that between this last & Pennsylvania & extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie shall be called WASHINGTON.

Of the territory which lies under the 39th and 38th degrees to which shall be added so much of the point of land within the fork of the Ohio & Missisipi as lies under the 37th degree, that to the Westward within and adjacent to which are the confluences of the rivers Wabash, Shawanee, Tanissee, Ohio, Illinois, Missisipi and Missouri, shall be called POLYPOTAMIA, and that to the Eastward farther up the Ohio otherwise called the Pelisipi shall be called PELISIPIA.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a Charter of Compact, shall be duly executed by the President of the U. S. in Congress assembled under his hand and the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original states & those now newly described, unalterable but by the joint consent of the U. S. in Congress assembled and of the particular state within which such alteration is to be made."

As the endorsement shows the report was recommitted March 17. The second report is endorsed "Report on western territory. Delivered March 23, 1784. Read, Wednesday 24th assigned for consideration." The point of difference between these two reports, is the omission in the latter of the proposed names of the new States. The consideration of this report did not come up until April 19, 1784. On that day the report was amended by striking out the clause prohibiting slavery after the year 1800. This amendment was proposed by Spaight of North Carolina. The question of rejection having been raised, the votes of

seven states were necessary to retain the clause. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania all cast undivided affirmative votes; Maryland and South Carolina undivided negative votes; Virginia voted no, Jefferson's affirmative vote being outweighed by the votes of his two associate delegates. Only one delegate from New Jersey was present and his affirmative vote could not represent the vote of the State. Delaware and Georgia were absent. This clause therefore was not retained, although only seven delegates voted no, while sixteen voted aye. Had Mr. Beatty of New Jersey been present and voted aye, as his later vote on King's anti-slavery amendment shows that he would have voted, New Jersey's vote would have been counted and the clause, therefore, would have been retained. On the following day other amendments were adopted. It was moved by Mr. Sherman and seconded by Mr. Ellery to strike out from the clause providing that the temporary and permanent governments in the new States should be "subject to the government of the United States in Congress assembled, and to the articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject," the words "to the government of the United States in Congress assembled and." Maryland was the only State to cast a vote in favor of this clause.

The provision excluding from citizenship all persons holding hereditary titles, was also stricken out. This amendment was proposed by Hand of Pennsylvania and seconded by Read of South Carolina. Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Virginia were unanimous in favoring this precaution against the dangers of royalty. The other States evidently were satisfied with the safeguard guaranteed by a republican form of government.

The next important amendment was the addition of the following clause: "That the lands of non-resident proprietors shall, in no case, be taxed higher than those of resi-

dents within any new State, before the admission thereof to a vote by its delegates in Congress." ¹

It was proposed, until the settlers had made arrangements for a temporary government, to place them under the authority of magistrates or rulers appointed by Congress. Blanchard of New Hampshire, Ellery of Rhode Island, Sherman and Wadsworth of Connecticut, and Paine of New York, were the only ones to cast negative votes on this proposition, but as only six states were found to favor it, it was lost. April 23rd, under the lead of Gerry and Williamson, a more guarded substitute for this provision was proposed and passed, as follows: "That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new states, until they shall assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled."

This ordinance was then adopted. It is the first positive legislation on the subject of the government of the north-west lands.

It may be summarized as follows: The western lands were to be divided into ten States, each one of which was to be able to adopt, as a temporary form of government, the constitution of any one of the thirteen original States, under which a legislature was to be elected with power to amend such constitution: each State furthermore, upon gaining a population of 20,000, was to be admitted as a State of the Union under a permanent constitution, and was to be admitted to full representation in Congress when its population equalled that of the least numerous of the thirteen original States, and until such admission each State, after the formation of its temporary government, could send a delegate to Congress with right of debating but not of voting. The limitations placed on these State governments

¹ Journals of Congress, IV., 377.

were that they should always remain a part of the confederation; that they should be subject to the Articles of Confederation; that their form should be republican; that they should be subject to federal taxation according to the apportionment by Congress; that they should not interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by Congress; that those lands, the property of the United States, should be exempt from State taxation; and that non-resident land proprietors should not be taxed at a higher rate than proprietors within the State.

The articles of this ordinance were made a compact between the original United States and each new State. It will be noticed that the subject of private securities for person and property with which the final ordinance dealt so fully, was wholly overlooked in the ordinance of 1784.

Jefferson's name is most closely connected with the ordinance of 1784. He was also chairman of the committee which in May reported an ordinance for the survey and sale of the western lands. This ordinance is connected with the subject of this sketch only in one particular. In it was a provision that lands should pass in descent and dower according to the customs of Gavelkind. This provision is inserted for the purpose of comparison with the law of descent as enacted in the ordinance of 1787.

"Until a temporary government shall be established in any state according to the resolutions of Congress of April, 1784, the lands therein shall pass in descent and dower according to the customs known in the common law by the name of Gavelkind; and shall be transferable by deed or will proved by two witnesses, but as soon as a temporary government shall be so established they shall become subject to the laws of the state and shall never after in any case revert to the United States. Where a grant shall be made out to the heir or devisee of the persons in whose name the warrant was originally issued, he shall be named in the said grant as heir or devisee."

The original draft of this ordinance is endorsed "Report of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Howell, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Read. An ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of lands in the western territory."

Entered. Read April 30, 1784. Friday, May 7, assigned." No action was taken on this ordinance during the session of Congress in which it was reported. When Congress again assembled Jefferson was in France and his ordinance was recommitted March 16, 1785, to Long, King, Howell, Johnson, R. R. Livingston, Stewart, Gardner, J. Henry, Grayson, Williamson, Bull and Houston. Their report provided that the central section of every township should be reserved for the support of schools, and the one adjoining northward for the support of religion. In the discussion of this provision Charles Pinckney moved, seconded by Grayson, that the words "for religious and charitable uses" be substituted for the "support of religion." This amendment was amended on motion of Ellery and Smith by striking out the words "religious and." Pinckney then withdrew his amendment. Ellery and Smith, however, moved to strike out the entire provision for the support of religion and, as only New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia voted in support of the clause, their motion was successful. A further amendment was offered to reserve one township "for charitable purposes," but only New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Delaware and Virginia voted for it.

This ordinance was enacted May 20, 1785. It provided for the survey of the western lands and for their division into townships six miles square, and also for the sale of sections and of lots. It was a practical plan for selling the western lands and is associated with the ordinance for government of 1784, just as the ordinance for sale of lands to the Ohio Company passed July 27, 1787, was connected with the ordinance for government of that year.

It was not long before an amendment to Jefferson's ordinance of an important nature was proposed. Rufus King brought forward the following motion, March 16, 1785:

"That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states described in the resolve of Congress of the 23rd of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall

have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original states and each of the states described in the said resolve of the 23rd of April, 1784."

King's motion was referred to a committee composed of King, Howell and Ellery, a strong committee and one surely predisposed in favor of the motion.

On the question of commitment, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. King, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland voted aye; Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina voted no; and Georgia and Delaware did not vote.

Beatty of New Jersey, who was absent when the vote on Jefferson's anti-slavery proposition was taken, was present on this day and voted in favor of commitment, thus showing his probable vote had he been present at the former time. Grayson of Virginia, whose name is connected so honorably with beneficial legislation for the northwest, voted in favor of commitment, but his colleague, R. H. Lee, voted no, though later he voted for the exclusion of slavery. Many historical writers have stated that the matter was dropped on the reference of this motion to a committee and the Journals of Congress do not show that even a report was made. There is, however, a report among the Papers of the Old Congress, endorsed "Report on Mr. King's motion for the exclusion of slavery in the new states. Mr. King, Mr. Howell, Mr. Ellery. Ent. 6 April, 1785. Read. Thursday 14 assigned for consideration." The draft of the original report is in the handwriting of Mr. King, the chairman.

"The committee consisting of &c to whom was referred a motion from Mr. King for the exclusion of involuntary servitude in the states described in the Resolve of Congress of the 23rd day of April, 1784, submit the following resolve—

Resolved that after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the states described in the Resolve of Congress of the 23rd day of April 1784, otherwise than

in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty — and that this resolution shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the 13 original states, and each of the states described in the said Resolve of Congress of the 23rd day of April 1784, any implication or construction of the said Resolve to the contrary notwithstanding — Provided always that upon the escape of any person into any of the states described in the said resolve of Congress of the 23rd day of April 1784, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the 13 orig^l states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and carried back to the person claiming his labor or service as aforesaid this Resolve notwithstanding."

In addition to the written draft of this report, printed copies are found among the Papers of the Old Congress, a fact which would seem to show that it was clearly presented to the attention of Congress. No action, however, was taken upon it; indeed there is no record even of discussion upon it.

This motion made by King, the fate of which has been shown, was doubtless inspired by a letter from Timothy Pickering, which was written to King, March 8, 1785, about a week before the motion was made. Pickering's words admit no doubtful meaning. "Congress once made this important declaration,— 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*;' and these truths were held to be *self-evident*. * * * To suffer the continuance of slaves till they can gradually be emancipated, in states already overrun with them may be pardonable, because unavoidable without hazarding greater evils; but to introduce them into countries where none now exist—countries which have been talked of, which we have boasted of, as asylums to the oppressed of the earth—can never be forgiven. For God's sake, then, let one more effort be made to prevent so terrible a calamity! The fundamental constitutions for those states are yet liable to alterations, and this is probably the only time when the evil can certainly be prevented. * * * It will be infinitely easier to prevent the evil at

first than to eradicate it or check it in any future time.”¹

Monroe was the mover of the next proposed amendment to Jefferson’s ordinance. He had become convinced from examination of the western territory that the number of States into which it was to be divided was too large.

As Virginia had ceded her lands to the United States on condition that they should be divided as Jefferson had proposed, it became necessary to induce her to change her terms of cession if Monroe’s plan was to succeed. Monroe at once attempted to secure this result. March 24, 1786, a report was presented from a general committee. It was termed a “report in part.” It called upon Virginia to revise her deed of cession, and recommended that the western land be divided into “not less than two nor more than five states.” The report was amended and adopted. It is as follows:

“Whereas it appears, from the knowledge already obtained of the tract of country lying north-west of the river Ohio, that the laying it out and forming it into states of the extent mentioned in the resolution of Congress of the 10th of October, 1780, and in one of the conditions contained in the cession of Virginia, will be productive of many and great inconveniences: That by such a division of the country, some of the new states will be deprived of the advantages of navigation, some will be improperly intersected by lakes, rivers, and mountains, and some will contain too great a proportion of barren unimprovable land, and of consequence will not for many years, if ever, have a sufficient number of inhabitants to form a respectable government, and entitle them to a seat and voice in the federal council: And whereas in fixing the limits and dimensions of the new states, due attention ought to be paid to natural boundaries, and a variety of circumstances which will be pointed out by a more perfect knowledge of the country, so as to provide for the future growth and prosperity of each state, as well as for the accommodation and security of the first adventurers. In order therefore that the ends of government may be attained and that the states which shall be formed, may become a speedy and sure accession of strength to the confederacy:

Resolved, That it be and it hereby is recommended to the legislature of Virginia to take into consideration their act of cession and revise the same so far as to empower the United States in Congress assembled to make such a division of the territory of the United States lying north-

¹ Pickering’s Life of Pickering I. 509-10.

erly and westerly of the river Ohio into distinct republican states not more than five nor less than three as the situation of that country and future circumstances may require: which states shall hereafter become members of the federal union and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the original in conformity with the resolution of Congress of the 10th of October, 1780."¹

Nathan Dane of Massachusetts aided Monroe in his attempt to revise the Ordinance of 1784. There is found among the Papers of the Old Congress a report of a committee, consisting of Monroe, Johnson, King, Kean and Pinckney, to whom had been referred a motion of Mr. Dane for considering and reporting the form of a temporary government for the Western States. It was entered and read May 10th, 1786, and July 13th was recommitted probably to the same committee.

Monroe's proposed ordinance left the division of the country into States to be determined later when the action of Virginia on the proposition to revise her deed of cession should have been ascertained. It provided for the appointment of a governor, secretary, council and court. The territorial legislature was to consist of two houses, one composed of the governor and council, and the other elected from districts into which the governor was authorized to divide the territory. All laws were to originate in the lower house, according to the report, but this was modified by Congress, so that this restriction was placed only on "money bills."

Jefferson's provision relating to the admission of the States to full representation in Congress, when each one could number as many inhabitants as the least numerous of the thirteen original States then contained, was inserted.

This ordinance, as reported by Monroe's committee, contained no compact limiting the powers of the temporary government, or providing safeguards to property or person. It is the most inadequate and insignificant frame of government for the Northwest reported to Congress.

¹ Journals of Congress IV. 663.

About this time the Indians of Kaskaskia petitioned Congress for the establishment of a temporary government in the Northwest Territory. Their petition was referred to Monroe, Johnson, King, Pinckney, and Smith. This is the same committee that made the report of May 10, with the exception that Smith is substituted in the place of Kean. There is no explanation of this change. Probably, however, this committee was the successor of the other, and had under consideration the whole subject of the government of the Northwest Territory. Their report on the subject of the petition of the Kaskaskies, made August 24, 1786, informs them that Congress is considering a plan for the government of the western lands, "and that its adoption will be no longer protracted than the importance of the subject and due regard for their interest require."¹

Monroe's connection with the schemes for the government of the Northwest Territory comes to an end with this report on the petition of the Kaskaskies. Both Monroe and King resigned their active work in Congress for that in the Constitutional Convention. Their places on the committee before whom was pending the matter of the Northwest, were filled by Dane of Massachusetts and Henry of Maryland.

September 19, 1786, the committee, now consisting of Johnson, Pinckney, Smith, Dane and Henry, made a report which was read and fixed as the order of the day for September 21st. With the exception of an unimportant discussion on September 29, this report received no attention until, in the next Congress it was brought forward again, as a new report from the same committee, April 26, 1787.

Johnson's ordinance, as reported, contained the following important provisions :

"And to secure the rights of personal liberty and property to the inhabitants and others, purchasers in the said districts, it is hereby resolved: That the inhabitants of such districts shall always be entitled to the benefits of the act of *habeas corpus* and of the trial by jury :

¹ Journals of Congress IV. 688.

That the judges shall agree on the criminal laws of some one state, in their opinion the most perfect, which shall prevail in said district until the organization of the general assembly; but afterwards the general assembly shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit:

That the real estates of resident proprietors, dying intestate previous to the organization of the general assembly, shall descend to the heirs of such proprietors, male and female in equal parts; that is to say, if a father dies intestate, leaving a son and two daughters, the real estate shall be divided into three equal parts, and descend to each in such equal proportions; provided however that such proprietors shall be at liberty to dispose of such lands by alienation, by bargain and sale, testamentary devise, or otherwise as he shall think proper; but after the organization of the general assembly, the estates of resident proprietors shall be subject to such disposition, by alienation, bargain and sale, descent or otherwise, as the said assembly shall direct.

The real estates of non-resident proprietors shall be subject to such alienation while living, and disposal by testamentary devise as they shall think fit; but the real estates of non-resident proprietors dying intestate, shall descend in the same manner as those of resident proprietors, previous to the organization of the general assembly, until such district shall be admitted into the Confederacy."

When these provisions were discussed in Congress, that relating to criminal law was modified, and those relating to the law of descent were stricken out.

This report was called up May 9, was read a second time and the next day was assigned for the third reading. On that day Massachusetts, represented by Gorham, King and Dane, called for the order of the day, but it was postponed for the consideration of the question of adjournment of Congress for a brief vacation, the reassembling to be at Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was about to sit. It may be well to note, in view of the statement made in *The Public Domain*, p. 153, that this proposition to adjourn was not adopted.¹ Congress, therefore, met on May 11 in New York, but the subject of the northwest was not taken up. There was no quorum from May 12 to July 5, inclusive.

On the 9th of July the Northwest Ordinance was taken from the table but not for a third reading. It was referred,

¹ *Journals of Congress*, IV., p. 747-8.

as Congress had read it for the second time, to a new committee consisting of Carrington of Virginia, Dane of Massachusetts, R. H. Lee of Virginia, Kean of North Carolina and Smith of New York. In order to contrast the ordinance which was referred to this committee with that which the committee reported; the text of the former is given in full. This copy is a reproduction of one of several printed copies found among the papers of the Old Congress. [The small capitals denote parts added to the report after it was submitted to Congress; the parentheses and italics, parts stricken out.]

An Ordinance for the government of the [*Western*] Territory OF THE U. S. N. W. OF THE RIVER OHIO, [UNTIL THE SAME SHALL BE DIVIDED INTO DIFFERENT STATES.] [Note.—This last clause was added and then stricken out in Congress.]

It is hereby ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, that there shall be appointed from time to time, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress.

There shall be appointed by Congress, from time to time, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked by Congress. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the general assembly, and public records [*of the district*] and of the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings every six months, to the secretary of Congress.

There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom shall form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, whose commissions shall continue in force during good behaviour.

And to secure the rights of personal liberty and property to the inhabitants and others, purchasers in the said [*district*] TERRITORY, it is hereby ordained, that the inhabitants [*of such district*] THEREOF shall always be entitled to the benefits of the act of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them shall adopt and publish in the [*district*] TERRITORY AFORES'D such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the [*district*] INHABITANTS and report them to Congress from time to time, which LAWS shall [*prevail in said district*] BE IN FORCE TERRITORY [*sic*] until the organization of the general assembly, unless disapproved of by Congress, but afterwards the general assembly shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit; provided, however, that said assembly shall have no power to create perpetuities.

The governor for the time being shall be commander in chief of the militia, and appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers; all officers of that rank shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

The governor shall, as soon as may be, proceed to lay out the [*district*] SAID TERRITORY into counties and townships, subject however to such alterations, as may thereafter be made by the legislature, so soon as there shall be 5,000 free male inhabitants, of full age, within the said [*district*] TERRITORY upon giving due proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships as aforesaid, to represent them in general assembly; provided that for every 500 free male inhabitants there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives amount to 25, after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; provided that no person shall be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall be a citizen of one of the United States, or have resided within such [*district*] TERRITORY three years, and shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, 200 acres of land within the same; provided also, that a freehold, or life estate in fifty acres of land in the said district, if a citizen of any of the United States, and two years residence if a foreigner, in addition, shall be necessary to qualify a man as elector for the said representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years, and in case of the death of a representative or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the time.

The general assembly shall consist of the governor, a legislative council, to consist of five members, to be appointed by the United States in Congress assembled, to continue in office during pleasure, any three of whom to be a quorum, and a house of representatives, who shall have a legislative authority complete in all cases for the good government of said [*district*] TERRITORY; provided that no act of the said general assembly shall be construed to affect any lands the property of the United States, and provided further, that the lands of the non-resident proprietors shall in no instance be taxed higher than the lands of residents.

All bills shall originate indifferently either in the council or house of representatives, and having been passed by a majority in both houses, shall be referred to the governor for his assent, after obtaining which, they shall be complete and valid; but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be valid or of any force without his assent.

The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue and dissolve the general assembly when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

The said inhabitants or settlers shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, contracted, or to be contracted, and to bear a proportional part of the burthens of the government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary and such other officers as Congress shall at any time think proper to appoint in such [district] TERRITORY, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity AND OF OFFICE, (the governor before the president of Congress, and all other officers before the governor), [according to the form prescribed on the 27th day of January, 1785, to the secretary at war, *mutatis mutandis*.]

[*Whensoever any of the said states shall have of free inhabitants as many as are equal in number to the one thirteenth part of the citizens of the original states, to be computed from the last enumeration, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states; provided the consent of so many states in Congress is first obtained, as may at that time be competent to such admission.*]

Resolved, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, be, and the same are hereby annulled and repealed.

[Endorsed]

Report temporary Government transcribed agreeably to order May 9th, 1787, & Assigned for thursday, May 10th.

May 10th postponed.

July 9, 1787, Referred to

Mr. Carrington
Mr. Dane
Mr. Lee
Mr. Kean
Mr. Smith

The account of the action of the Committee in the Journal of Congress is confined to the one fact that their report was made July 11, only one day intervening between their appointment and their report. The ordinance thus reported, after amendment, as will be explained in detail later, was read a second time July 12, and was enacted July 13.

The vote on its passage was unanimous, that is, the votes

of the eight States present, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, were all affirmative. Yates of New York was the only individual who voted no. The statement that he voted aye, made in *The Public Domain*, p. 152, is an error. See *Journals of Congress*, iv., 754. The only explanation of this vote to be found, is given in Dane's letter to Rufus King, Bancroft's *History of the Constitution*, vol. ii., p. 431, that Yates "appeared, in this case, as in most others, not to understand the subject at all."

Three printed copies of the Ordinance are preserved in the Library of Congress: one showing the report as made on the 11th and the amendments adopted on the 12th before the second reading; the second being a corrected print of it as it passed; and the third a copy arranged so as to show the report and all amendments, the additions being underlined and the clauses stricken out being written in. A reproduction of this copy is added below, the small capitals showing the additions, and the italics the clauses stricken out. A note is added to each addition stating in whose handwriting the addition is found in the amended report. Comments are also added after each paragraph summarizing all that can be learned in regard to the source of each particular principle.

AN ORDINANCE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE
UNITED STATES NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

All previous reports had contemplated the organization of the temporary government in the form of one district, although no precise statement had been made in regard to the subject. See resolutions reported by Duane's committee *supra*, page 307.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate,

shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and, among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; AND THERE SHALL, IN NO CASE, BE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN KINDRED OF THE WHOLE AND HALF-BLOOD; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law, relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district.

In language and substance this statement of the law of descent closely resembles the Massachusetts statute of 1783, ch. 36. The verbal changes are unimportant, and the only point of difference in substance is that in Massachusetts until June 8, 1789, the eldest son received a double portion. It is also to be noticed that the law of descent of real estate as stated in the report of Johnson's committee, was the same as the law which was enacted, in its main principle,—equal distribution among the children of the intestate. The clause in regard to half-blood was added as an amendment to the report in Congress. It is written into the printed copy referred to above in the hand of Grayson, at that time President of Congress.

And, until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however to the (*inhabitants of Kaskaskies and Port Vincent*) FRENCH AND CANADIAN INHABITANTS, AND OTHER SETTLERS OF THE KASKASKIAS, ST. VINCENTS, AND THE NEIGHBORING VILLAGES WHO HAVE HERETOFORE PROFESSED THEMSELVES CITIZENS OF VIRGINIA, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Nathan Dane, in his abridgment, Vol. VII. p. 389, thus explains the source of this part of the ordinance. "This ordinance" (i. e. of 1787) "formed by the author of this work) was framed mainly from the laws of Massachusetts, especially in regard to titles. * * * * Thus the laws of Massachusetts laid the foundation of titles to real and personal estates, by deed, by will, and by descent, in all the territories of the Union northwest of the river Ohio;—and substantially in the other territories to which this ordinance has been extended." The amendment is in the hand of Grayson.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid. That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 1000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

Jefferson's ordinance left the form of the executive and legislative departments of the temporary government to be determined by the selection by the free males of one of the state constitutions. Monroe and Johnson both placed the executive department in the hands of a governor to be appointed by Congress. The first clause of the above is taken almost verbally from Johnson's report. See *supra*, page 321.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 500 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his Executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the Secretary of Congress:

There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in 500 acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

With the exception of the clauses giving to the Secretary and Judges freehold in 500 acres of land, the above articles are taken from Johnson's report. See *supra*, page 321.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time: which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but, afterwards, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

To the corresponding provision in Johnson's report, was added the clause "provided, however, that said assembly shall have no power to create perpetuities." This clause does not appear in any shape in the final ordinance.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all (*above that rank*) GENERAL officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

This amendment was written in by Thompson, the Secretary of Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same: After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of the magistrates and other civil officers, shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

These articles are copied almost verbatim from Johnson's report.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

The latter half of the above paragraph is copied with but slight verbal changes from Johnson's ordinance.

So soon as there shall be 5000 free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their coun-

ties or townships to represent them in the General Assembly: *Provided*, That, for every 500 free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to 25; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature:

Provided, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, 200 acres of land within the same:

Provided, also, That a freehold of life estate in 50 acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

There is nothing to call for comment in these paragraphs. They are all in substance the work of Monroe's and Johnson's committees.

The General Assembly, or Legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in 500 acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and, whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed.

Johnson gave to the members of the council tenure dur-

ing the pleasure of Congress. The manner of their selection and appointment as stated above is new.

And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The first sentence is new.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the governor.

This is practically the same as in Johnson's report.

As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting during this temporary government.

This privilege was accorded to the territory by Jefferson's ordinance.

And, for extending (*to all parties of the Confederacy*) the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory: to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

Jefferson's form of the statement of this compact did not make the people of the States a party to it. The compact entered into by the enactment of Jefferson's ordinance is completely re-stated and re-enacted in the articles below, and thus was not broken in a single particular.

ART. 1st. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Religious freedom was secured generally to the citizens of the different States by their constitutions. Connecticut and Rhode Island were probably the only exceptions at the time of the ordinance of 1787. The charter of 1663 of Rhode Island, guaranteed religious liberty to her citizens. Delaware's constitution prohibited an established church. The language of Article 1st of the Ordinance of 1787, bears a strong resemblance to the last clause of Article II., Part I. of the Constitution of 1780 of Massachusetts.

ART. 2d. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury:

These two private safeguards were guaranteed by Johnson's ordinance. *See supra*, page 321.

Of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law.

Proportionate representation of the male inhabitants in the legislature was secured by Johnson's ordinance.

All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great.

The provision in regard to bail usually found in the bills of rights, is "that excessive bail ought not to be required." In the short bill of rights of Connecticut, adopted in 1776, is found the following, to which the above is closely parallel: "And that no man's person shall be restrained or imprisoned, by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereunto, if he can and will give sufficient security, bail or mainprize for his appearance and good behavior in the meantime, unless it be for capital crimes.
* * * *"

All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted.

This language was probably suggested by the Virginia

Bill of Rights, which declared "That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." These words were borrowed directly from the English Bill of Rights of 1688-9. The corresponding clause in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, is: "No magistrate or court of law shall demand excessive bail or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments."

No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same.

Virginia and Massachusetts together contributed the above. In the Bill of Right of the former is the statement, "That no man be deprived of his liberty except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers," and the constitution of 1780 of the latter contains the provision, "And whenever the public exigencies require that the property of an individual should be appropriated to public uses, he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor." There is also in the Constitution of Massachusetts a sentence which may have suggested the first clause of the above.

And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, *bona fide*, and without fraud, previously formed.

So far as is known the sacredness of private contracts is here for the first time recognized as putting the obligation contained in them beyond the rightful interference of legislation. It seems clear that the motive of this article was suggested by Shays's Rebellion and that Nathan Dane deserves the credit of having originated and stated it as it now stands in the Ordinance. Dane claims this credit in his letter of March 26, 1830, to Daniel Webster in the following words: "I have never claimed *originality* except in

regard to the clause against impairing contracts, and perhaps the *Indian* article, part of the third article, including also religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc."¹

Hon. George F. Hoar, in his Marietta Oration, thus speaks of this article :

"For the first time in history the Ordinance of 1787 extended that domain from which all human government is absolutely excluded by forbidding any law interfering with the obligation of good faith between man and man. This provision, adopted afterward in substance in the Constitution of the United States, and thereby made binding as a restraint upon every State, is the security upon which rests at last all commerce, all trade, all safety in the dealing of men with each other. To-day its impregnable shield is over the dealing of sixty millions of people with each other and with mankind."

Mr. Hoar also explains the probable motive of this article as follows : "Shays's insurrection in Massachusetts in 1787 was inspired mainly by the desire to prevent the enforcement of debts by the courts. To it was doubtless due the clause in the Ordinance of 1787—inserted also in the Constitution—forbidding the passage of any law impairing the obligation of contracts."

ART. 3d. (*Institutions for the promotion of*) religion, morality, AND KNOWLEDGE, BEING NECESSARY TO GOOD GOVERNMENT AND THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged (*and all persons while young shall be taught some useful occupation*).

Bland foresaw the need of establishing schools. See *supra*, page 306. The scheme for sale and survey of lands, which was enacted May 20, 1785, also provided that the central section of every township should be reserved for the support of schools.

The clause in small capitals is an interlineation in the handwriting of Thompson.

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be

¹ Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. x., p. 479.

invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Dane claims to have originated this provision in his letter to Webster, which is quoted above. While these exact words are not found in any prior report, yet the rights of the Indians to the soil were recognized in the early reports and in Jefferson's ordinance.

ART. 4th. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto.

This stipulation was made in Jefferson's ordinance as one of the principles on which the temporary and permanent governments were to rest.

The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

The principle of the above was stated in the same language in Jefferson's and in Johnson's ordinances. *See supra*, pages 309, 323. The method of levying the taxes is first stated in the final ordinance.

The legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States;

These two articles of compact were included in Jefferson's ordinance, as enacted, but not in his first report. They were added as amendments to his second report by Congress.

And, in no case, shall residents.

This had already¹

The navigable waters and the carrying places and forever free, as well the citizens of the United may be admitted into duty, therefor.

This clause had a resolution of Congress it and King second entire substance of the same words.¹

ART. 5th. There shall three nor more than five soon as Virginia shall act to the same, shall become Western State in the said the Ohio, and Wabash river Post St. Vincent's, due to States and Canada; and Woods and Mississippi direct line, the Wabash by a direct line, drawn to the said territorial line State shall be bounded Pennsylvania, and the so further understood and States shall be subject's after and the expedient States in that part of the West line drawn through gain.

This article was 1788. The word of Grayson, in hand of Thomas, son,

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Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government.

This was the third proposed regulation of the time of admission to statehood. Jefferson's plan provided for admission of each State when the number of its inhabitants equalled that of the least numerous of the thirteen original States at such time of admission. Monroe adopted the proposition of Jefferson. Johnson wished to exclude each new State until it could show a population one-thirteenth of the population of the original States. This last proposition was probably rejected by Congress, inasmuch as it is stricken out from the draft of that ordinance as it passed a second reading. *See supra*, page 323.

Provided, the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than 60,000.

A republican form of government was required by Jefferson.

ART. 6th. THERE SHALL BE NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE IN THE SAID TERRITORY, OTHERWISE THAN IN THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES, WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED: PROVIDED ALWAYS, THAT ANY PERSON ESCAPING INTO THE SAME, FROM WHOM LABOR OR SERVICE IS LAWFULLY CLAIMED IN ANY ONE OF THE ORIGINAL STATES, SUCH FUGITIVE MAY BE LAWFULLY RECLAIMED AND CONVEYED TO THE PERSON CLAIMING HIS OR HER LABOR OR SERVICE AS AFORESAID.

This sixth article is the most prominent feature of the Ordinance. Its history in Congress will be seen by following Jefferson's proposition to exclude slavery after 1800 in his first report; Spaight's amendment by which it was stricken out; King's motion to amend by adding the clause as above which unqualifiedly prohibits slavery; the report of King, Howell and Ellery proposing again Jefferson's provision and adding to it the fugitive slave clause as above; Monroe's and Johnson's Ordinances which totally omit the

subject of slavery; Carrington's report without the sixth article; and Dane's amendment which was adopted without question and added as above.

The most surprising facts in connection with this article are that it hung fire so long when it would seem that its best friends were interested in it; that Dane and King especially were ready on May 10th to vote for an ordinance which omitted it, and that when proposed in Congress as an amendment to a matured plan, it was so readily adopted.

This historic amendment is in the handwriting of Nathan Dane and is annexed by wafer to the printed copy of the report which was made and read on the 11th, and not to the report which was made by Johnson's committee April 26, as is stated in *The Public Domain*, p. 152.

Dane has given his reason for not pressing his amendment on the members of the committee while their report was under consideration, in a letter to Rufus King, which has been referred to already and will be found in Bancroft's *History of the Constitution*, Vol. II., p. 431. He writes: "When I drew the ordinance (which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it), I had no idea the states would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts, of the eastern states, was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but finding the house favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition."

There is another explanation of the fact that Dane waited until the committee had reported before he brought forward this sixth article, given by Charles W. Upham in a speech delivered in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in 1849. Mr. Upham's theory is that the committee wished to report only what they could agree to unanimously, and it was found impossible to come to an arrangement on the subject of slavery. Dane, therefore, proposed his amendment and gained unanimous support for it, by means of the

fugitive slave clause, which was offered as a compromise to the demands of the southern states. This theory is not wholly satisfactory. It overlooks the fact that King's report placed precisely the same proposition before Congress, April 6, 1785, and yet it was not accepted, nor even discussed. Mr. Upham does not give his authority.

In connection with this sixth article it is deemed fitting to quote a letter from Dane to John H. Farnham, written May 12, 1831, and to be found in the *New York Tribune* of June 18, 1875 :

"As to the article excluding slavery, an important one, though perhaps not more so than the provision against impairing contracts, two questions arise: Who first thought of excluding slavery from the North Western territory? Who caused the article to be made a part of the ordinance? The Committee that reported the plan of April, 1784, including an article against slavery, very imperfect, * * * consisted of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase of Maryland and Mr. Howell of Rhode Island. As Mr. Howell was from a non-slaveholding state, an active and able member, might he not more probably first think of excluding slavery? Be that as it may, the slave article in the plan of 1784 was very deficient, and the plan being adopted, and the slave article rejected, there was an end of it. The next year, '85, Mr. King of Massachusetts moved to add a slave article, better in words, but imperfect in substance; this being only committed, a slave article was no longer proposed by any committee. When the ordinance of '87 was reported to Congress, and under consideration, from what I heard, I concluded that a slave article might be adopted, and I moved the article as it is in the ordinance. It was added, and unanimously agreed to, I thought to the great honor of the slave-holding states."

The mystery surrounding the enactment of this sixth article, which the passages quoted from Dane's letters do not solve, is explained, perhaps not with perfect satisfaction, by the publication of the "Life, Journal and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler." Mr. William F. Poole of Chicago first called attention to the very important influence

exerted by Cutler, as the agent of the Ohio Company, in the formation and passage of both the "Ordinance of 1787" and the accompanying ordinance for the sale of land to the Ohio Company. The recent publication of Cutler's letters and diary has made it still clearer that the Ohio Company, represented in New York by Cutler, when the subject of the Northwest Territory was at last considered with energy, was the power which demanded and enforced from the hitherto undecided and irresolute Congress an ordinance for the government of their State or States which would secure the rights of property and of person, maintain education and religion, and irrevocably prohibit slavery.

A few passages from Cutler's "Life, Journal and Correspondence" will serve to support this view.

April 7, 1783, Timothy Pickering wrote a letter to Mr. Hodgdon, in which is the following passage: "But a new plan is in contemplation, no less than forming a *new state* westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. About a week since the matter was set on foot and a plan is digesting for the purpose. Inclosed is a rough draft of some propositions respecting it, which are generally approved of. They are in the hands of General Huntington and General Putnam, for consideration, amendment and addition."¹

Here are three of the articles of the rough draft to which Pickering referred. "11. That a Constitution for the new State be formed by the members of the association previous to their commencing the settlement, two-thirds of the associators present at a meeting duly notified for that purpose agreeing therein. The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution."

"(12). That the associators, so assembled, agree on such general rules as they shall deem necessary for the prevention and punishment of crimes, and the preservation of

¹ Vol. I., p. 149.

peace and good order in the State; to have the force of laws during the space of two years unless an assembly of the State, formed agreeably to the Constitution, shall sooner repeal them."

"13. That the State so constituted shall be admitted into the Confederacy of the United States, and entitled to all the benefits of the Union, in common with the other members thereof."¹

April 14, 1783, Colonel Pickering again writes to Mr. Hodgdon. He says "General Putnam is warmly engaged in the new planned settlement on the Ohio."²

Later a petition signed by two hundred and eighty-eight officers in the Continental army is presented to Congress praying for the location and survey of the western lands promised to them by the resolution of September 20, 1776. General Rufus Putnam is the first signer from Massachusetts. He writes a long letter to Washington stating the terms on which the petitioners propose to receive the lands, and in these terms are liberal provisions for the support of the ministry and of schools. This letter is submitted to Congress with the petition.

March 1, 1786, the Ohio Company was formed in Boston, and later General Samuel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam and Rev. Manasseh Cutler were chosen the three directors.

General Parsons made an unsuccessful application for the purchase of lands from Congress, after which the Ohio Company resolved to attempt to make "a private purchase of lands of the Honorable Congress," and Manasseh Cutler was authorized to conduct the purchase.

Before starting on his important mission he visits Boston and consults with Rufus Putnam. He writes of their interview: "Conversed with General Putnam. Received letters. Settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company."³

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¹ Vol. I., p. 158.

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The day of this interview was June 25, 1787. On the following day Cutler started for Providence on his way to New York. He arrived there July 5, four days before the appointment of the final committee on the Ordinance. During this time he was very diligent presenting letters of introduction to members of Congress, and others, and pushing his propositions in regard to the northwest lands. His greatest friend in Congress appears to have been Carrington of Virginia, who was made chairman of both the committee on the frame of government and the committee on the sale of lands.

He records in his diary, pp. 236-7, that he had two conferences on the ninth with the Committee. July 10 he states that he had another conference with the Committee in the morning. His account of that day contains this significant paragraph: "As Congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal Territory, for which a bill had been prepared, and a copy sent to me with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly after I had returned the bill with my observations I set out at seven o'clock and crossed North River to Paulus Hook."¹

It seems probable that the bill which had been prepared and a copy of which had been sent to Cutler, and to which he had proposed amendments, was the ordinance reported by Johnson and read a second time on May 9, inasmuch as this extract shows that the copy with Cutler's proposed amendments was returned July 10, and the committee which drafted the final ordinance was appointed only the day before. Unless, therefore, the committee took immediate action on the day of their appointment, and revised the work of the former committee sufficiently to offer a complete ordinance to Cutler, he must have received a copy

¹ Manasseh Cutler, *Life, Journals and Correspondence*, i., 242.

of the old report which had been referred to Carrington's committee. This report had, as has already been stated, passed a second reading, and had been printed. When Cutler had returned to New York after the Ordinance had been enacted, he was provided with a copy of it, as the following entry in his diary shows: July 19, "Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with the Ordinance establishing a Government in the Western federal Territory. It is in a degree new modeled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one and that is better qualified."

The statement that "it is in a degree new modeled" seems to justify the inference that comparison was made with the bill which had been sent to Cutler, and that that bill was the ordinance which was at that time on the table of Congress.

These passages from Cutler's diary show conclusively that he went to New York armed with great power, and for definite purposes which had been discussed and agreed upon with Rufus Putnam before he started. The precise articles in the final ordinance which were due to the foresight and wisdom of Putnam and Cutler cannot now be precisely pointed out. It seems probable, however, in view of the earlier stand taken by Putnam and Pickering and their associates, that provisions for the support of religion and education, and the prohibition of slavery, were among the terms of the negotiation. It is only upon this supposition that the readiness of Congress to agree upon the sixth article can be explained.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, RELATIVE TO THE SUBJECT OF THIS ORDINANCE be, and the same are hereby, repealed and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in Congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secy.

The amendment appears to be in the handwriting of Thompson.

In conclusion, reference is given to Dane's note A in the appendix of volume 9 of his Abridgment of American Law. It is not thought necessary to repeat it in full, as the substance has already been given in what has been said as comments on the different clauses of the Ordinance. But a single paragraph therefore will be given. Mr. Dane's conclusion is

"On the whole, if there be any praise or any blame in this ordinance; especially in the titles to property and in the *permanent* parts; so the most important, it belongs to Massachusetts; as one of her members formed it and furnished the matter with the exceptions following. First, he was assisted in the committee of '86, in the *temporary* organization, almost solely by Mr. C. Pinckney, who did so little he felt himself at liberty to condemn this ordinance in that debate. Secondly, the author took from Mr. Jefferson's resolve of '84 in substance, the six provisions in the fourth article of compact as above stated. Thirdly, he took the words of the slave article from Mr. King's motion made in 1785, and extended its operation, as to time and extent of territory. * * * as to matter, his invention furnished the provisions respecting impairing contracts and the Indian security and some other smaller matters, the residue, no doubt, he selected from existing laws."

REMARKS OF P. EMORY ALDRICH ON THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

[In seconding the motion to print the foregoing paper giving the legislative history of the Ordinance of 1787, Mr. Aldrich called attention to some points of interest in relation thereto, which are not adverted to in the paper itself.]

LET us note first the absence of any authority in the Congress of the Confederation to pass any such Ordinance.

“The first day of March” (1781), says Bancroft, “was a great day in the history of the country. America had proceeded by petitions to the king, by a declaration of rights, by an appeal to the world on taking up arms, by her declaration of independence onwards to the confederation which was designed to make them one people for all time. . . . The people of the United States thought that they had established a government, and there was no government. . . . The states of America had formed a confederation, not a union. . . . No creative word could go forth: through Congress there could be no agreement in reform.” The articles of confederation contained no grant of power even to prohibit the slave-trade—much less to interfere with slavery in the States or territories. Yet that Congress, so destitute of nearly all of the ordinary powers of government, undertook by this transcendent act of legislation to determine, for all time to come, the condition, in one important respect, of the whole of the vast territory northwest of the Ohio, and of the sovereign States that were to be formed out of it. Upon this subject of the want of authority in the Confederate Congress to pass the Ordinance, Mr. Justice Curtis, in his dissenting opinion in the *Dred Scott* case, says “The Congress of the Confederation

had assumed the power, not only to dispose of the lands ceded, but to institute governments and make laws for their inhabitants. In other words, they had proceeded to act under the cession, which, as we have seen, was as well of jurisdiction as of soil. This Ordinance was passed on the 13th of July, 1787. The convention for framing the constitution was then in session at Philadelphia. The proof is certain and decisive that it was known to the convention. *It is equally clear that it was admitted and understood not to be within the legitimate power of the confederation to pass this ordinance.*"¹ Speaking of the Northwest Territory, Hamilton in No. 38 of the Federalist says, "We may calculate, therefore, that a rich and fertile country, of an area equal to the inhabited extent of the United States, will soon become national stock. Congress have assumed the administration of this stock. They have begun to render it productive. Congress have undertaken to do more; they have proceeded to form new States, to erect temporary governments, to appoint officers for them and to prescribe the conditions on which such States shall be admitted into the confederacy. *All this has been done; and done without the least color of constitutional authority.*"

Mr. Madison in a letter to Robert Walsh under date of November 27, 1819,² writes as follows: "With respect to what has taken place in the Northwest Territory, it may be observed that the ordinance giving the distinctive character on the subject of slave holding proceeded from the old congress, *acting with the best intentions, but under a charter which contains no shadow of the authority exercised.*"

To another correspondent he writes under date of October 15, 1826. "The Revolutionary Congress was the offspring of the great crisis, and the exercise of its powers prior to the final ratification of the Articles (of Confedera-

¹ Jefferson's Works, vol. IX., pp. 251, 276. Federalist, Nos. 38, 43. 20 Howard, pp. 608, 609.

² Madison's Writings, Vol. III., p. 154.

tion) governed by the law of necessity or palpable expediency. And after that event there seems to have been more regard to the former latitude of proceeding than to the text of the instrument; assumption of power, apparently useful, being considered little dangerous in a body so feeble and so completely dependent on the authority of the States."¹

The other point to which attention was directed, was the fact, that the discovery of want of authority in the Congress of the Confederacy to make rules and regulations for the government of the territories, produced a direct and controlling influence on the convention, in conferring upon Congress under the Constitution full power for these purposes. It has already been shown that the passage of the Ordinance by the Congress of the Confederacy, then sitting in New York, was known to the convention for framing the constitution sitting in Philadelphia. A newspaper containing the Ordinance and notice of its passage was sent July 15, 1787, by Richard Henry Lee, a member of the Congress, to General Washington, President of the Convention. And as Mr. Justice Curtis, in the opinion already cited, says, "The importance of conferring on the new government regular powers commensurate with the objects to be attained and thus avoiding the alternative of a failure to execute the trust assumed by the acceptance of the cession, made and expected, or its execution by usurpation could scarcely fail to be perceived." And upon this same ground Hamilton had argued with great effect in support of these provisions of the Constitution conferring upon Congress power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories.

In the same number of the *Federalist* from which the foregoing quotation is made, Hamilton says, "I mean not, by anything here said, to throw censure on the measures which have been pursued by Congress. I am sensible they could not have done otherwise. The public interest, the

¹ Madison's Writings, Vol. III., p. 581.

necessity of the case, imposed upon them the task of overlooking their constitutional limits. But is not the fact an alarming proof of the dangers resulting from a government which does not possess regular powers commensurate to its objects?"¹

Mr. Horace Gray, now an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in an elaborate review of the Dred Scott case in the *Monthly Law Reporter* of June, 1857, says, "The power of the Congress of the Confederation to pass the Ordinance (of 1787) and to provide for the admission of new States into the Confederacy, having been doubted, the following clause was introduced into the Constitution: New States may be admitted by the Congress into the Union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, &c. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories and other property belonging to the United States," &c.

Citations of other authorities, showing the want of power in the old Congress to legislate effectively for the territories, and the purpose of the framers of the Constitution of the United States to confer upon the government of the Union that necessary authority, might easily be multiplied. But enough has been said for the present purpose of calling attention to the subject. And it may be added that although the Ordinance was passed without a shadow of constitutional authority, yet it fully accomplished its beneficent design, which has never been better described than by Webster. "It fixed," said the great orator and statesman, "forever the character of the population in the vast region northwest of the Ohio, by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It imposed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid an interdict against personal servitude, in original com-

¹ Hamilton's Works (Lodge's ed.), Vol. IX., p. 251.

pact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper also than all local institutions."¹

It may not be without use to say, by way of a note to what goes before, as tending further to show the contemporary opinion of the invalidity of the Ordinance as a legal enactment, that the first Congress of the United States under the Constitution, at its first session passed an act, the express purpose of which, as declared in the preamble, was that the Ordinance of 1787 should continue to have full effect.

¹ Webster's Works, Vol. III., pp. 264, 278.

April, 1874, he made the report for the Council, choosing for his theme "The Angel of Bethesda" of Cotton Mather, which he considered from a medical point of view. This essay also attracted much attention. In April, 1878, he made his last report for the Council, on "the completion of the Library extension and the possible future of the Society." His feeling tribute to the memory of his friend the Hon. Henry Chapin, October 15, 1878, to the memory of our late President, Stephen Salisbury, in October, 1884, and to the memory of Dr. Rufus Woodward, in April, 1886, were among the more formal writings of our associate, published in our proceedings. It is fitting that our sentiments should find expression, and I offer for your consideration the following resolutions :—

Resolved: That in the death of Dr. Joseph Sargent, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society have lost an associate whose character and attainments qualified him, in an unusual degree, for the position which he has filled as an officer of this society, while his gifts of mind and heart endeared him to all the members of this board.

Resolved: That we desire to bear in mind that Dr. Sargent was always faithful to his obligations towards the society, and that we have observed the same punctilious service in his action as officer of other institutions with which he has been connected.

Resolved: That we recognize in Dr. Sargent to a remarkable degree that rare quality of mind which enabled him to consider both sides of a proposition, and that generosity of disposition which led him to endeavor to do justice to all, as nearly as imperfect human judgment would allow.

Resolved: That the Council feel deeply the loss of a friend ever ready to sympathize with others in their griefs, and quick to suggest consolation.

Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN seconded the resolutions, and said :—

Mr. President:—Many institutions of business or finance have, during the past week, paid and published their tributes to the memory of Dr. Sargent, their promoter, advocate or

adviser. That they should do so was natural and most fitting. Those tributes were marked by generous appreciation and feeling, with far less of perfunctory phrase of commendation than often attends expressions of this kind. It cannot be doubted that his connection with those institutions was very useful to them and to the community. The elevating and purifying influence of men of so dignified personal character, and so high standard of honor, tends to lift business out of the coarser and more sordid channels, refining its manners and elevating its morals. But business associations, however worthy, honorable or useful, were but the *incidents* not the *distinctions* of his life. Not slothful in these, his real activities, his liveliest interests were elsewhere. His true life moved along the higher walks of intellectual endeavor, and rested on the loftier planes. He called no man common or unclean, and his kindly courtesy was a proverb with all who knew him. But his chosen companionships, the companionships of his leisure (by which the true character and tastes of men may best be tested), were with intellectual and cultivated men, leaders of thought, students of the past and moulders of the future.

To the great University where he graduated nearly fifty-five years ago, his affectionate loyalty was unwavering, growing and strengthening with each advancing year. When the noon-day of their strength had passed, and with the lengthening shadows the evening of life drew near, the love of Sargent, and Hinckley, and Felton, and Donaldson, for each other and for their *Alma Mater*, glowed ever and ever warmer. To the new and rising University, of which he was one of the earliest selected as a Trustee, he gave his ripest thought, advancing views of singular clearness and wisdom. He was always on the most liberal side, always for placing the institution on the highest plane, where it should be the rival of none but command the good will of all, in honorable effort to be to all an aid, a light and an exemplar. To this Society, represent-

ing as it does so much of the sound learning and critical judgment of our community and State, and identified as it is in the minds of the scholars of the country with archaeological research, and studies in American History, his relations were marked by the most constant and intelligent fidelity. For twenty-eight years a member, for twenty-five years a Councillor, I cannot remember a meeting of the Society or the Council, at which, if in the country, he was not present. His sagacious and frequent observations and criticisms upon papers submitted to the Council were always welcome and pertinent, sometimes invaluable. His own Council reports, of which formal notice will be taken in that to be submitted at the Annual Meeting, were listened to with the greatest interest, and have been cited as permanent authority on the questions with which they dealt. He was master of a clear and unambitious English style, sententious yet not unduly condensed, of logical order and easy, natural flow, worthy of the subjects he had in hand and of the character of the audience he addressed.

Of his professional attainments and distinction it is not becoming for one not a member of the same profession to speak with any attempt at technical detail. Yet some things, even in these relations, were so obvious to all men, and especially to those who, not of the faculty, were yet privileged to enjoy his intimate personal friendship, that they may, with every propriety, be spoken of here. Of the noble calling to which his life was devoted, he was by universal admission, and beyond a possible doubt, in this community, the head. He occupied that position more than thirty years ago, when I came to this city a young man, welcomed to his friendship, and he occupied it every moment from that time till his death. It is certainly the conviction of the community in general, and I think also that of his professional brethren, that, outside of the County of Suffolk, he had not his equal, upon the whole, in the faculty throughout the State. And the mere fact that

he held this recognized position and primacy, was not his highest triumph or his brightest crown. Thousands, indeed, will bless his name for relief and restoration in hours of danger and despair. His associates in all the professional organizations to which he at different times belonged, will bear unvarying testimony to the value of his co-operation, the tenor of his counsels, the strength and uplifting power of his leadership. But perhaps the greatest service he rendered the profession was in exalting it before the community, by his recognized head-ship and by the broad and generous influences which flowed down from him through all the veins and arteries of the body of the profession, permeating all its tissues and inspiring all its movements, both objective and subjective. He was raised above all jealousies, not by acquired distinction only and intellectual abilities, but by inherent greatness of nature. His judgment of his fellows was broad and generous. He lived among them in the perpetual sunshine of courtesy and sympathy. He welcomed every honorable young man to the profession, counselled, cheered to high aims, encouraged to hopeful endeavor. He saw the possibilities which wait on work and hope, believed in them, pressed them on aspiring youth, possibilities not of mere pecuniary success and sordid triumph, but of attainment, of usefulness, of honor. Thus he exalted his profession in the eyes of its votaries and before men, and blended its reputation, in our whole community, with their confidence in his own great heart, strong arm and skilful hand. He kept far in the van of thought and progress. He would not be a provincial practitioner, nor plod the dull round of the mere family or country doctor, nor drag about the rubbish of a rusty mind. His observation was broadened in foreign fields. He was not afraid of a little loss of practice or emoluments at home, so that, through absence, he might get larger views, and, albeit at temporary pecuniary sacrifice, bring fuller light into the professional world and larger prospect of relief and blessing to suffering and disease.

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His sympathies were those of a nature not only noble but in the highest degree intelligent. His diagnosis was quick and accurate, and, far less than that of most practitioners, required the aid of the patient's spoken word. He could, in large measure, anticipate the want, explore each thought, explain the asking eye. He practised medicine with respect for his fellows and with reverence for the Unseen. Not in assertion or dogma, but with high and unaffected reverence, he recognized the religious element in life and death, and never excluded the Maker of the Universe from influence in its affairs. To him there was no element of idle superstition in the simple faith of that good and wise physician

"Who wrote from Susa's bloodstained field
'I dressed the wound that God has healed.'"

The ready sympathy and tender sensibility of which I have spoken was the natural ally and outcome of the hearty and sincere good-fellowship with which his nature overflowed, and which so conspicuously marked his relations with his friends, and with the varied life of the community. This lovable and loving quality remained unimpaired by advancing years or decaying health. It never shone with sweeter and more attractive grace than but a few days before his death, in a small company of near friends, who will never forget those happy hours (alas! the last,) of reunion with him. Nor did he ever withdraw himself from our ancient local guild, whose sole bond of union, and *raison d'être*, is good-fellowship, nor fail in regular attendance at its quarterly meetings. And I think he would desire for himself, as earnestly as did Ben Adhem, the simple inscription, "He loved his fellow-men."

The man whose heart was so large, and whose whole nature was so imbued with the generous affections, could not fail to co-operate with interest and enthusiasm in every reasonable scheme for the mitigation of human suffering, and the relief of human misfortune of every kind. The Lunatic Hospital

in his earlier years, the City Hospital in later, and in the last, perhaps the most interesting of all, the Memorial Hospital, were objects to him of deep interest, active co-operation and support, earnest and constant solicitude. Nor were his charities or sympathies limited by professional or semi-professional bounds. Few public gifts of this kind found themselves without his active and practical sympathy; and for all those private ministrations, the delicate adjustments and combination of pecuniary relief with gentle personal attentions, the consoling presence, the cheering word, the practical encouragement, the blessing of the widow and the fatherless will always rest upon him, for in each and all of these his life was one pure stream of love from fount to sea.

Nor was that noble heart less brave than tender, nor less true. His sympathies were outspoken with the down-trodden and oppressed. When to be a pronounced anti-slavery man endangered social prestige and often proved social ostracism, he was faithful to his heart's teachings, and dared to range himself with the advanced guard which led the way through fiery trial and National sacrifice to the final triumph of National virtue, and the emancipation of every bondman. The same warm, courageous heart was enlisted, in his earlier days, in the organization of a new religious society, and was one of the strongest supports of the youthful pastor to whom that most important charge was entrusted, and who always found in him a shield and tower of strength.

And yet it seems to me, looking at all his life and work, that the most beautiful things are to be found in his home, and in his private relations with intimate personal friends. Most gentle and loving they were, marked by all the charm of generous temperament, natural sunshine, "principles and purposes of affection." But on them at this time, it would not be becoming, nor should I dare trust myself to dwell.

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., said a few words to thank Col. Washburn for the tribute of respect that he had read, and expressing his own personal obligation to Dr. Sargent, when he first came to Worcester, more than forty years ago.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR spoke briefly of the merits of Dr. Sargent and of the long and intimate friendship that had existed between the Doctor and himself, fully agreeing with all that Mr. Washburn had said.

REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., said :—

Mr. President:—I claim a special right to offer my tribute to the surpassing worth of our late associate, inasmuch as I was the earliest of his friends in the Council. He was my pupil in his Junior year in college. His class recited to me in sections of not more than twelve or thirteen, so that in the class-room his became to me a familiar presence, while my relations with the students outside of the class-room were such as brought me into frequent intercourse with them. I remember him well as an amiable, modest, thoroughly estimable youth. While not distinguished for brilliancy as a scholar, he was so for assiduity, diligence, and thoroughly faithful work. His early eminence in a profession in which such men as his preceptor, Dr. Jackson, furnished the standard for comparison, might have been readily predicted from his career in college, and none were so promptly assured of the foremost and extended reputation which he was destined to attain as those who could trace his course from his boyhood. While my opportunities of cultivating his intimate acquaintance have been few and rare, in my visits to Worcester I have seldom failed of an interview with him, and never of being refreshed and gladdened by tokens of his kind remembrance and friendly regard, all which were fully reciprocated while he was with us in this world, and are recalled with gratitude that will, I trust, be more than life-long, or rather, will last on into the life beyond the death-shadow.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., spoke as follows :—

Mr. President:—Some of the gentlemen present know that a new history of Worcester is preparing. Dr. Samuel B. Woodward has been engaged recently in writing the portion of it which relates to the history of medicine here, and has just finished his paper. I have had the pleasure of reading it in manuscript, and have found it to be an admirable piece of work. Dr. Woodward tells me that he never could have written this monograph without the assistance which he received from Dr. Sargent, in several long conversations. It is gratifying to me, and to all of you, to know that a part of that abundant store of knowledge regarding local medical history, and of pleasant reminiscences respecting physicians in Worcester, of which Dr. Sargent was the repository, has been preserved and will appear in print.

I had intended to remain silent this afternoon, but cannot help saying that Dr. Sargent has touched me several times by manifestations of his generous spirit. I can recall especially three occasions on which he took particular pains to express sympathy, and speak words of praise when I had met with successes in life. I belong, as you know, to one of the families which has been distinguished in Worcester for the eminence of members of it in the practice of medicine. When Mr. Washburn came to Worcester, thirty years ago, the last Dr. John Green to practise here, the most skilful practitioner, perhaps, in Central Massachusetts, had virtually retired from an active exercise of the duties of his profession. I fear, however, that in earlier days, when Dr. Sargent began his career here, Dr. Green and his brother-in-law, Dr. Heywood, did not give him a very hearty reception. They probably felt, as doctors in small places are apt to feel when in possession of the field, an unwillingness to relinquish any portion of it to a new comer.

Dr. John Homans was invited to settle in Worcester, by a prominent family here, but soon came to Dr. Green and told him that it had become apparent to him that there was

not room for him in this place. He went to Boston, as you know, and became there a very successful physician. Dr. Sargent remained in Worcester, and it is because my relations and connections did little to help him while he was struggling for position in the town, that I have felt especially appreciative of the kindly and generous spirit which he has shown in his intercourse with me.

Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH said:—

In addition to what has been already said by other members of the Council, in just eulogy of our late associate, Dr. Sargent, permit me to speak very briefly of his conduct and character in another and *quasi* public relation, where his rare intelligence, conscientiousness and absolute loyalty to truth were conspicuous. During my practice at the Bar, I had occasion to call Dr. Sargent many times, as a medical witness and expert, and heard him testify often when called by others. And from him, as such witness, courts and jurors were sure to hear an impartial and luminous statement of the facts as he had observed and understood them; and if beyond a mere statement of facts, his opinion as a medical expert was called for, that opinion was invariably given with caution, and with no apparent desire to support either side of the controversy, beyond its just merits. His opinions, as a scientific witness, were never for sale, they could not be bought. He never took the witness stand as a partisan, or in the spirit of advocacy. When called upon to act as a witness in a case demanding superior knowledge and skill, he first investigated the facts of the case, with a thoroughness I seldom ever saw practised by any other member of his profession; and having done that, he frankly stated his opinions of the case, whether favorable or unfavorable to the party choosing to call him. He encouraged no false hopes, nor set up any fanciful theories, unsustained by facts, upon which it might be possible to win a cause. He never forgot his duty to science whose precious treas-

ures he possessed in a large measure, nor did he sacrifice the honor of a noble profession, for the sake of temporarily saving a party who had sought his aid and was willing to reward him for it. If all witnesses summoned as experts, in all departments of art and science, would imitate the lofty example of our late associate, expert testimony might be redeemed from the suspicion and disrepute which now lies upon it, in our courts of justice.

Dr. Sargent had a remarkably clear and forcible style or manner of stating facts and opinions, and he was never at a loss to give a reason for an opinion which he had once expressed. In giving his testimony he rarely ever used technical words; but his well-chosen language was such as to render his explanations and statements of recondite subjects plain to the learned and unlearned alike.

He had a wholesome contempt for all ostentatious displays of learning, and, although his knowledge of his profession was varied and profound, he kept his knowledge for use and not for show. His first statements of a case as a witness, were ordinarily so clear, full and fair, that no amount of cross-examination could change or essentially modify them.

Such a man, so abundant in learning, so filled with the love of truth, became a material assistant in the administration of justice in our Courts. And in closing this brief notice of him, I venture the affirmation, after having heard many of the most eminent members of the profession, as witnesses in the Courts, in all parts of the Commonwealth, that I remember no one who, in fulness and exactness of knowledge, in clearness and fairness of statement, was the superior of Dr. Sargent.

Brief eulogistic remarks were also made by Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 22, 1888, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., in the chair.

The following members were present (the names being arranged in order of seniority of membership): George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, Charles Deane, George F. Hoar, Andrew P. Peabody, George Chandler, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, John D. Washburn, Edward H. Hall, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Hamilton B. Staples, Edmund M. Barton, Charles Devens, Thomas L. Nelson, Lucius R. Paige, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Edward I. Thomas, Frederick W. Putnam, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Ebenezer Cutler, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, A. George Bullock.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The report of the Council was submitted in two parts, the first by the Recording Secretary, and the second by Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, submitted his report in print, and EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian, read his report.

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., moved that the above reports, as together constituting the whole report of the Council, be adopted.

The motion of Dr. ELLIS was seconded by Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN, who made some remarks relative to the trial of Mrs. Spooner, in Worcester, in 1778, whose execution had been incidentally mentioned in the Librarian's report. These remarks, subsequently enlarged by himself, are printed later on in these proceedings.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., referred to several authorities not cited by Dr. HALE. Further brief remarks were made, mainly on the subjects of the numbers and sailing ports of privateers, by Rev. GRINDALL REYNOLDS, ANDREW MCF. DAVIS, Esq., SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., and Prof. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM.

The report of the Council was then adopted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Recording Secretary made a communication to the Society from the Council, recommending a change in the by-law relative to the time of holding the annual meeting. The proposition of the Council was that when the 21st of October shall fall on Sunday or Monday the annual meeting be held on the following Wednesday. After a brief discussion and informal expression of opinion, on motion of Mr. HOAR, it was voted to recommit the subject to the Council to be reported upon at the April meeting.

The Recording Secretary also communicated the names of the following gentlemen, recommended by the Council for membership in the Society :

Mr. JOHN NICHOLAS BROWN, of Providence, R. I.

Mr. GEORGE WASHINGTON CABLE, of Northampton,
Mass.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, Ph.D., of Worcester.

SAMUEL PIERPONT LANGLEY, LL.D., of Washington,
D. C.

Mr. HENRY CHARLES LEA, of Philadelphia, Pa.

JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., of Framingham,
Mass.

A separate ballot having been taken on each name all the gentlemen nominated were declared elected.

GEORGE E. FRANCIS, M.D., chairman of a committee, "to see whether and how far the Society could now attempt the systematic collection of photographic records," reported that such an attempt would involve an expense of labor, space and money altogether beyond the present resources of the library. The report was accepted.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., was then unanimously elected President by ballot.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., HON. ELIJAH B. STODDARD and Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES, were appointed a committee to nominate candidates for the remaining offices to be filled by election.

The committee reported the following nominations:

Vice-Presidents:

HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, LL.D., of Newport, R. I.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Ct.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary:

HON. JOHN D. WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All of the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council; and the following

Councillors:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Rev. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., of Cambridge.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS, of Worcester.
FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, A.M., of New Haven.
J. EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The report was accepted. By unanimous consent the Secretary was instructed to cast a yea ballot for the above-named list, and the gentlemen nominated were accordingly elected.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, LL.D., addressed the Society briefly on two subjects. First as to a controversy or discussion, illustrated by the original manuscript, between Samuel Hopkins and Roger Sherman, on certain theological points, subsequently known as "Hopkinsianism." On this subject Rev. Dr. ELLIS and Rev. Dr. PAIGE spoke briefly. Mr. HOAR's second topic was the Ordinance of 1787, in which he spoke of the authority on which the ordinance was based. To this argument Judge ALDRICH briefly replied.

Mr. HOAR then moved that Rev. Dr. PEABODY be requested to make such annotations on the doctrines of "Hopkinsianism" as he may think proper, all the papers on this and on the Ordinance of 1787 having been referred to the Committee of Publication. Mr. HOAR's motion was adopted.

HON. HAMILTON B. STAPLES, LL.D., read a paper on La Salle, concluding by presenting to the Society a crayon copy of the bronze memorial recently erected to him in the Cathedral of Rouen. Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR spoke of the attempt recently made to produce a likeness of La Salle which should pass as genuine. Among the embellishments in the English edition of Hennepin, 1699, is a small group of persons one of whom is intended to represent La Salle at the moment of his assassination. The whole picture and scene are, of course, imaginary. La Salle's face as there shown is about the size of a pea. Pierre Margry, then director of the archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, who has made large collections of MSS. and published several volumes relating to the discoveries of La Salle, enlarged this miniature face by a camera, or some such method, into a size to fit one of his octavo volumes, and palmed it off as a veritable portrait of La Salle.

ANDREW MCF. DAVIS, Esq., presented without reading, a paper on "The site of the first College building at Cambridge."

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES read a paper on the "Alabama Stone."

Prof. FREDERICK W. PUTNAM spoke briefly on the interesting work now being carried on by him in the explorations of the mound builders' work, which the lateness of the hour prevented him from dwelling upon at the present time.

All the papers and discussions of the day were referred to the Committee of Publication, and the meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IF it is a subject of regret that the accessions to the library for the past six months as appears by the report of the Librarian are somewhat below the average of such accessions for the last few years, the result of chance, an ample consolation is to be found in a visible and marked increase in its use, the result of design. The small reduction in number of accessions is easily accounted for by the accident of the absence of two or three members who make it one of their objects in life to increase the value and number of our collections. The increased use is explained by the simple fact, which ought to be recognized by all our members and promulgated on every proper occasion, that here are to be found many almost invaluable aids to original investigation, primal springs of historical knowledge; that here most useful aid is given to all inquirers by the intelligent and faithful custodians of the library; that our collections are made easily accessible to visitors, even to those not members of the society; that the physical conditions which make work in a library comfortable, agreeable and safe, here abound—cheerful light, genial warmth, undisturbed quiet and seclusion. Few scholars who visit our treasures for the first time, fail to be in equal measure impressed and surprised by their originality and fulness. Our distinguished associate who has recently passed by his own desire from the chair of the President to that of the Second Vice-President, familiar as he has been for years with the general character and extent of our collections, found himself surprised at the sources of original information which opened themselves to him when he was employed in the preparation of his great

oration on the settlement of the Northwest Territory. These treasures must not be left to rust unburnished, but made to shine in use; and if the question were to be put to the judgment of those most familiar with them, it might well be answered that increase of use would be productive of more good in the world and to the public of whom institutions like ours must be held to be the trustees for very important purposes, than mere increase of average accessions. And yet too often, the estimate of the prosperity of libraries is based almost exclusively on this last.

The opportunity afforded by the different classes of collections in our library may well be illustrated by mention of a single one, to which, it is believed, the attention of the society has never been directed in any Council report. Probably in few places in the world is there so large a collection of reports and pamphlets on the subject of Insanity. The fulness and richness of this body of material is largely due to the zeal and thoughtfulness of Dr. Pliny Earle, for many years the distinguished head of the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton, to whom the writer of this report was under infinite obligation during a term of ten years as trustee of two others of the Lunatic Hospitals of Massachusetts. In these days of original and daring investigation into the causes—moral, intellectual and physical—of mental alienation, when men of genius are spending whole lives in the study of the spinal cord alone, when the microscope is searching into the most secret recesses of the chamber of the mind and is almost as it were on the eve of establishing the connection of the visible with the invisible, it is of infinite value to have at hand and conveniently arranged for consultation, so great a body of statistics and statements of results both relative and absolute, bearing on the subject of insanity in all its recognized forms and varieties.

It is highly desirable that the fulness of the collections of a society like this should be generally known; hardly less so its deficiencies. The Librarian's report makes one or

two valuable suggestions on this general subject. For example, assume that we have a collection of authorities on any particular subject which is almost perfect; the nearer perfection is approached, the more vital and pressing the necessity of reaching it, even if the material necessary to complete it be among the more insignificant in inherent importance and value. Some other society has this, thinks little of it because it is so insignificant, would gladly give it to us in exchange for something which, valuable to it on the same grounds, is comparatively unimportant to us. This idea is not simply that of the ordinary system of exchange, but a modification or amplification of it, and some further suggestions upon this subject may be made by the Librarian in his report.

It is still true, as urged by the present writer in a former report, that our collections, almost if not quite without exception, are wanting in absolute completeness. But progress has been made, perhaps stimulated in some direction by what was then said, and it is in the power of our members to add greatly to this completeness, by gifts of books or pamphlets which may be needed, or by pecuniary additions to the book-buying fund; such additions to be devoted, if desired, to specific purchases.

The reports of the Librarian and of the Treasurer, which form a part of the report of the Council, show that the affairs of the Society, both intellectual and financial, are in good condition. The Society always wants money, wants a great deal of money, and could use it for the very best and most useful of purposes. It is however better at the present time to hold what we have with thankful spirit, and be satisfied that it is honestly and intelligently kept or disbursed, and that we are able to accomplish so much with resources so moderate. It would be desirable to incur a reasonable expenditure by fitting up more shelf-room in the lower hall, as the steady increase in the volume of our collections makes more available space necessary. There is no

more room above, and it is even indispensable to the proper care and arrangement of the Haven alcove, that additional accommodation be furnished below. Surely no member of this Society, who remembers—and none can ever forget—what Mr. Haven was and how fully the reputation of this institution is entwined with and based on his, will ever consent that his alcove, the best and most appropriate monument to his memory, should be marred in the symmetry of its beauty, by unseemly crowding, or intrusions neither homogeneous nor originally anticipated.

Since the last meeting of the Society, four of its members have died, of whom, in accordance with custom, brief biographical sketches will now be given.

Dr. Edwin H. Davis.

Edwin Hamilton Davis, who was born at Hillsborough, Ross County, Ohio, on the 22d of January, 1811, and elected a member of this society on the 28th of April, 1858, died at his residence in the city of New York on May 15, 1888. The first school he ever attended was situated very near an Indian mound, one of the group at Circleville, Ohio, a circumstance which may have drawn his mind at that early age into the channels of his subsequent investigations. He graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio, in 1833, and at the Medical College at Cincinnati in 1837, practising his profession thereafter at Chillicothe, Ohio, till 1850, at which time he was called to the chair of *Materia Medica* and *Therapeutics* in New York, and became also one of the conductors of the *American Medical Monthly*. Dr. Davis continued the practice of his profession in the city of New York for more than thirty years, and his professional life was not without distinction. He was the author of an able report on the *Statistics of Columbus in Ohio*, published in 1850, and made occasional contributions to scientific and medical journals. As early as May, 1841, he performed

the operation for *strabismus*, which he claimed was the first operation of the kind in Ohio, and the second, but by a few days, in the United States.

But Dr. Davis's reputation with eminent scholars rests not on professional achievements, but on his researches and publications on Antiquarian subjects. While still a student at Kenyon he explored the mounds in that neighborhood, reading a paper on the subject at the Commencement in 1833. It is said that some suggestions made by Daniel Webster, who was then making a tour in the West, stimulated him to further researches. Certainly he spent a great deal of time in the practical study of Indian mounds, opening nearly two hundred of them, and gathering together many relics which form part of the collection of Blackmore's Museum at Salisbury, England, a duplicate of which may be found in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. He delivered a series of lectures on this subject before the Lowell Institute in Boston, in 1854, which were afterwards repeated elsewhere. It was Dr. Davis's high privilege to have his name transmitted to posterity on the title-page of the first of the twenty-five volumes of the noble "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." His great work, entitled "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," is in itself the best and most appropriate monument to the zeal, industry, intelligence and attainments of Dr. Davis.

Sydney Howard Gay.

Sydney Howard Gay, who was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, May 22, 1814, and elected a member of this society at the April meeting in 1878, died at his residence in New Brighton, Staten Island, New York, June 25, 1888. He was a son of Ebenezer Gay, of Hingham, a lawyer of good standing, and grandson of the Rev. Ebenezer Gay, whose name is so well known in the clerical annals of New England as pastor of the First Church in Hingham, a

position which he held for more than sixty-nine years. Mr. Gay was not only distinguished for the fact of the unparalleled length of his pastorate, but for his wit and social charm; qualities in respect of which the subject of the present sketch was his worthy representative. He was moreover the representative by descent, of much that was most eminent in Colonial and Provincial life, and in his veins flowed the blood of Governor Bradford of the Plymouth Colony, of Increase and Cotton Mather of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, of Nehemiah Walter, the colleague of Eliot the apostle, and of James Otis of Revolutionary fame.

He entered Harvard College at the age of fifteen, but was compelled, through failure of health, to retire in the course of his Junior year, and did not graduate with his class. The college authorities subsequently conferred upon him the degree of A. B. and his name stands enrolled upon the catalogue of the alumni with the class of 1833, of which he was a member. After some time passed in travel, during which his health was re-established, he was in a counting house in Boston, and a little later entered his father's office as a student. A peculiar and to his mind insurmountable obstacle presented itself to his proposed professional career. The subject of human slavery,—its inherent wrong and fearful consequences to master and to slave,—had taken strong hold upon his mind and conscience. That system was recognized by the Constitution of the United States. The oath to support the Constitution was a pre-requisite to admission to the bar, and that oath his conscience forbade him to take. This then was an absolute barrier. "He would not make his conscience blind," and accepting the logical consequence, abandoned his professional studies, and allied himself with the abolitionists, then a small, unpopular party, under the lead of Mr. Garrison. The sacrifice was great, but it is not known that Mr. Gay ever doubted in later years that he had followed the dictates of not only a clear but an enlightened conscience. It is remarkable that

three of the most accomplished gentlemen of Massachusetts, almost contemporaries, of similar tastes, and acting under similar convictions of duty, should have withdrawn themselves from the ordinary paths to distinction and made the abolition of slavery a leading, if not paramount, object of their lives, Mr. Gay, our late associate the Author of "Wensley," Edmund Quincy, and the peerless American orator, Wendell Phillips.

In 1842 Mr. Gay entered the service of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as a lecturing agent. In 1844 he became the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, of New York, which position he retained till 1857. The literary tone of this publication was very high, and Edmund Quincy was a frequent contributor. In 1857 he joined himself to the *New York Tribune* as a member of the editorial staff, and in 1862 became the managing editor. The war of the rebellion was then the great engrossing subject of thought and effort throughout the land. All Mr. Gay's powers were enlisted in advocacy of its vigorous and unrelenting prosecution. He traced its origin to slavery, his life-long abhorrence. He believed that it was the ordained means for the abolition of that crime against humanity. Reverses did not dishearten him, nor abate the vigor of his appeal, or his confidence in the ultimate result. It is difficult to over-state the value of his services to the National cause throughout the entire period of the civil war. He remained at the head of the editorial department of the *New York Tribune* till 1866, and in 1867 removed to Chicago, becoming the managing editor of the *Chicago Tribune* and continuing in that position till the great fire of 1871. He wrote the first published report of the Chicago Relief Committee, of which he had been one of the most laborious members. A little later he returned to New York, becoming the managing editor of the *Evening Post*, holding that position for two years.

It was the natural result perhaps of this association, that

with Mr. Bryant he became engaged upon the work known as the Bryant and Gay's History of the United States. Mr. Bryant being applied to to undertake the preparation of this history, suggested application to Mr. Gay, consenting to aid in the work should Mr. Gay be the author. The result was a publication to which Mr. Gay contributed very much the largest share. Mr. Bryant wrote the preface to the first volume. Several other gentlemen made contributions to the body of the work but much of the labor of authorship was done by Mr. Gay, and all the responsibility was borne by him, and he edited the whole. In 1884 he wrote the "Life of James Madison," and when his health finally failed in 1885, was writing a life of his friend Edmund Quincy, which could not have failed to be a valuable and most charming addition to the series of "American Men of Letters." Besides these books he wrote many articles, reviews and book notices,—chiefly, of late years, on historical subjects.

The last three years of Mr. Gay's life were marked by physical weakness, prostration and even helplessness. But he bore what he was called upon to bear with infinite patience, and was borne to his final earthly resting place, in Hingham, which, by a rare felicity, was in the very spot above which he was born. The Gay homestead was burned some seven years since. The Hingham Cemetery Company being then in need of more room purchased the estate and added it to the burial-ground; and the lot in which Mr. Gay is buried occupies the precise site of the dwelling-house.

Hon. Ebenezer Torrey.

Ebenezer Torrey, who was born in Franklin, in the County of Norfolk, Massachusetts, August 16, 1801, and elected a member of this Society at the April meeting in 1856, died at his home in Fitchburg on the 15th of September, 1888, in the house he had lived in for more than sixty

years. He was fitted for college at the Leicester Academy, and at the Academy at Lancaster, of which Mr. Solomon P. Miles, a distinguished educator, was then the head. He entered Harvard College at the age of seventeen, and graduated in the class of 1822.

After graduation, he went to Fitchburg and became a student of the law in the office of John Shepley, Esq. Mr. Shepley was at that time a prominent member of the bar of Worcester County, though subsequently, at about the time of Mr. Torrey's admission to the bar in 1825, he removed to the State of Maine.

For the active practice of law in the courts, Mr. Torrey had little taste. He became early a wise and safe adviser, and in 1827 formed a partnership with Nathaniel Wood, and the firm of Wood & Torrey became well-known as among the leading practitioners of the county. The court business was done almost entirely by Mr. Wood, whom the members of the county bar not past middle life remember well as an earnest and devoted advocate, trying his cases with great vigor, and commanding many of the resources which avail most before the jury, and always enjoying the confidence of his client, and the respectful attention of the court. But much of the success of the firm, even in its court cases, was based on Mr. Torrey's calm and judicious opinions as to the strength of the case itself, independently of the power of the advocate or the chances of forensic battle.

These very qualities in Mr. Torrey, sound judgment and thoughtful forecast, to which was added an unsullied integrity, adapted him to service of the community, perhaps less brilliant, certainly not less honorable, nor conferring less of genuine distinction than that rendered by his partner. From an early age his life was largely devoted to the safe and discreet management of financial institutions, to the discharge of important public trusts, and to advice and supervision in large corporate affairs.

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Dr. Sargent filled a very large place in the community, and his death produced a profound impression of grief and loss, which was not confined to the inhabitants of this city and county where he lived, nor even to those of the State of Massachusetts. The proceedings of the Council dwell mainly on the characteristics and qualities of mind and heart which so conspicuously distinguished him. It is the object of the present writer to group together the leading facts of his life, so far as the same bear relation to this Society, and to the public, professional, business, charitable, religious and intellectual interests with which he was connected.

He was the son of Col. Henry Sargent of Leicester, a man of prominence, who exercised much influence in all the public affairs of his town and county. A bright and somewhat precocious lad, he early developed the disposition for study, entered Harvard College at the age of 15, and graduated in the class of 1834. The relations he established with the institution and with his classmates were among the happiest and most abiding of his life. After graduation, he began the study of medicine with Dr. Edward Flint of Leicester, a prominent and successful practitioner, and after remaining there about a year, continued the study with Dr. James Jackson of Boston, attending the course of medical lectures there and also at Philadelphia, and receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine from his Alma Mater in 1837. He was almost immediately thereafter appointed to the position of House Physician in the Massachusetts General Hospital, and in 1838 visited Europe and remained for two years, continuing his studies mainly in the hospitals of Paris and of London. Returning to this country in 1840, he established himself in practice in Worcester, where he early obtained the leadership in the profession, a position he held unchallenged for the period of nearly or quite a generation. In 1850 he again visited Europe, and was engaged in professional study and observation there for nearly a year, and still again in 1868. The fruits of this study and observation in larger fields were manifest through his life, in the ease and certainty with which he assumed and held the highest rank in the profession, and enured to the lasting benefit of thousands of the sick and suffering among whom his daily labors were wrought.

It is remarkable that amid the engrossments of so extended professional and other intellectual pursuits, he should have been able to develop so decided a capacity for actual business—using that term in its more restricted and literal sense,—and to be recognized as a man whose associa-

tion in such enterprises was very valuable. Probably in these he found a relaxation from professional labor, a welcome variety, and so turned to them the more readily the powers of his quick and versatile mind. The Life Assurance Co., the Gas Light Co., the Institution for Savings, the Worcester Bank, all availed themselves of his services in the capacity of President, Vice-President, or Director; and he held other business relations, not few nor insignificant.

In institutions whose purpose was principally or wholly eleemosynary, his co-operation was justly considered of great value. The Lunatic Hospital, the City Hospital, and the Memorial Hospital, were in turn objects of his interest and fostering care. In each of them he served several years as Trustee and was one of the Board of the Memorial Hospital from its incorporation in 1870 till his death. He was the originator of the plan of the Medical Improvement Society in 1845, and member or Councillor of several of the well known associations for the advancement of professional learning and practice in the county and State. His influence in the profession, among his contemporaries, and especially upon the younger members, was of the highest tone, and for effective power and result has hardly ever been equalled in the State.

As a member of this Society and a Councillor, he has been valuable and valued—a faithful attendant, and useful contributor. Three reports of the Council which he made in different years attest the versatility of his talent and his ready adaptation of style to subject. These have all been published and form part of our Proceedings. The founding of a new religious society in the city of Worcester in 1845 called out the largest sympathy, and the most earnest co-operation on the part of Dr. Sargent, one of the very few men on whose efforts and zeal the results of the enterprise depended, and by whom it was carried through to permanent and marked success. With no less enthusiasm he

identified himself early with the great moral and religious movement which had for its distinct and definite object the abolition of human slavery, and, amid the doubts, perplexities and obloquy which from time to time attended the progress of that movement, continued in constant and unshaken faith to the end.

To the University recently established in the city of Worcester, of which he was early elected a Trustee, he gave much thought, as a possible means of the greatest intellectual good, an institution for the advancement of learning on the higher planes, and the enlargement of the boundaries of human knowledge. The views he held and from time to time expressed, as to the present opportunities such an endowment as this affords, were marked by luminous intelligence, the largest liberality, and bright, courageous hope. Probably no man of his years was more imbued with the enthusiasm of youth in intellectual things. Venerating the ancient ways as admirably adapted to their times and the objects sought through them, he yet saw and was not afraid to be known to see, that new occasions bring new duties, and that time makes ancient good uncouth. These things are stated here not by way of eulogy, since eulogy is in no sense the object of these sketches; but because, being true, they may serve as an encouragement to associates who are so rapidly coming into the places of seniority, to grow old as wisely, as liberally, as nobly as did he.

For the Council.

JOHN D. WASHBURN.

NAVAL HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

THE naval history of the American Revolution has hardly attracted the attention it seems to deserve.

It is not difficult to account for such inattention. Movements on land are connected together, and a certain dramatic unity can be made out, from the study of them or the description of them. But, in the Revolution, those naval conflicts in which two or three vessels only were engaged were much more important in the aggregate than the few battles of great fleets. America, indeed, had no great fleets. Her sea victories, which were many, and her losses, which were many, were generally the results of separate encounters.

Now, when the number of such encounters is several hundred in a year, the most painstaking annalist may be excused if he devotes little time or attention to those of less importance, and, indeed, if he dismisses the year's work by some single sweeping statement. In fact, we have the authority of Almon's Remembrancer for saying that, in the year 1777, 467 vessels of the English commercial fleet were captured. Probably the English captures of American merchantmen were not so many. But the Americans had still a large commercial marine in that year. The English took several of our vessels of war, and we took some of theirs. I name this year because it precedes the declaration of war by France. It is then probable that seven or eight hundred captures were made by one side or another, about two a day. If that is a fair average, from which to estimate

the encounters at sea, seven years of war must have given about five thousand such encounters. It is a matter of course that history shall make no record of the greater part of them. Indeed, our leading histories are satisfied when they tell the story of the privateering exploits of the beginning, of the attack on Bermuda and the Bahamas, two or three of Paul Jones's most picturesque exploits, and the experiences of the fleets of the Count de Grasse and of D'Estaing. This is not unnatural. But it is, after all, perpetual dropping which wears away the stone, and a careful estimate of the public opinion of England, will probably show that the loss, in seven years, of nearly three thousand vessels from the merchant marine of England had more to do with the absolute change of public opinion in England between 1775 and 1781 than any other special cause which can be named. The merchants did not like to pay insurance ranging from forty per cent. in a year, even to sixty per cent. sometimes; and a nation of shopkeepers, which would not have grumbled much under the taxes which Lord North's government imposed, became restive and recalcitrant under the terrible checks inflicted on their foreign trade. Of one year it is said that only forty vessels escaped out of the four hundred in the African trade. Of the same year, it is said that nearly half of the fleet which traded directly between Ireland and the West Indies was taken. Abraham Whipple, in one vessel, took ten West Indianmen out of a fleet which did not number fifty in all.

It is the privilege of the gentleman who prepares the Council report that he may ask such questions or suggest such inquiries as seem of interest to him in his own line of study. In the few minutes in which I shall detain the society, I do not make any attempt to tell the story of the naval experiences of the Revolution. I have hoped, however, that I might call the attention of gentlemen interested in such studies to the need of a larger and fuller review of the subject than has been made, particularly by speaking of

some of the manuscript sources of information which we have now at hand, many of which have not been used, I think, by Cooper and the other writers on the subject.

I do not, however, wish to speak, except in language of high praise, of the work which has already been done. In the admirable monograph by our associate, Mr. Winsor, on the literature of the subject, will be found what I suppose to be a full list of printed books bearing upon it, which must be studied carefully for any proper work upon it, and of many manuscripts, to which I need not otherwise refer. The leading American works are Thomas Clark's "Naval History," Charles Goldsborough's "Naval Chronicle," James Fennimore Cooper's admirable "Naval History of the United States," and G. F. Emmons's "Navy of the United States." Besides these, of course, there are to be remembered the biographies, only too few, however, of our great naval commanders. It could be wished that the descendants or relatives of these great men would take more pains than they have yet taken, to draw out from the obscurity of private papers, memoranda which are now of great importance for the philosophical study of history.

The attention of the society was called to this subject, by our president, Senator Hoar, in the valuable paper which he read here six years ago. With his usual success, he had discovered, what the rest of us searched for in vain, a list of one hundred and twenty-nine cases of prize appeals during the war of the Revolution, whose records are now in the office of the clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States. "These records," he says, "contain, in many instances, the original letters of marque in case of the capture of a privateer, and such evidence as to the character and conduct of the captured vessel and the circumstances of the voyage, as was necessary to determine whether she was lawful prize. This is often quite full and minute, and of much interest."¹

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I had myself made fruitless search for records of many of these cases in the archives of the United States courts in several districts. It is however probable that much valuable matter, relating to cases where no appeal was taken, may yet be found at Portsmouth, Salem, even Boston, Providence, New London, and perhaps there are such records in Charleston. It will by no means follow that, because such papers are not where they ought to be, they do not exist.

It is, indeed, a rather curious fact that the Navy Department has not one word of the history of the navy of the Revolutionary War, or thinks it has not. Neither has the War Department, although at one time the navy department was carried on by the Secretary of War. The State Department has the volume of original records of the Committee of Marine of the Continental Congress. It does not appear that this important volume was used by Cooper. It was of this committee that John Adams said that he enjoyed his connection with it more than he had enjoyed any public service that he had rendered. Indeed, it is interesting to observe John Adams's interest in the navy from the very beginning, and some of the most picturesque and dramatic little turns in its early history have been recorded by him.

The District Court at Philadelphia has a very meagre memorandum relative to the condemnation of prizes taken during the Revolutionary War. The clerk of that court is quite confident that the State of Pennsylvania did not issue privateer commissions, leaving that business to the Continental Committee, which was in session at Philadelphia. This will hardly account, however, for the absence of an Admiralty report of proceedings, taken when prizes were brought into port, and it is to be hoped that such a record may still be found in the archives of that State.

Under the persistent and vigorous lead of John Adams, the Continental Congress early gave itself to the business of building up a navy. It bought vessels, and it built

them. In particular, it ordered thirteen vessels at one time, which were to be most of them of the largest class of frigates then built. The names of these vessels were suggestive of some point in the history of each of the thirteen colonies. It is to be wished that, in the restoration of our navy, which is promised us by every administration, those thirteen original names might be again included in the list.¹ All of these vessels were eventually built, but their history is but a sad one. Most of them were burned to escape capture, even before they got to sea,—one or two of them on the stocks; and at the end of the war, every one of the thirteen had been destroyed or had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

With other vessels, however, which Congress had bought, the national navy was more successful. Paul Jones's exploits, in the *Ranger* and in the *Bon Homme Richard* are well known; they were too picturesque to slip out from history. A large part of the varied general business, conducted by Franklin and the other ministers of America in Europe, related to what may be called the "allied navy" which they created in France. They also issued privateers' commissions. Of these commissions no complete list has appeared in the various sets of documents which make up the European diplomatic history of America. But, in the Stevens collection at Washington, and in the American Philosophical Society's collection at Philadelphia, there is a very large body of correspondence and other manuscript material, which bears principally upon the exploits of the privateers, sailing from French ports, and partly upon those of Jones and other officers who bore the United States commission. A proper study of this correspondence will bring forward as claimants to the gratitude of America, Lambert Wickes and George Conyngham, two men who are scarcely

¹They were the *Washington*, *Raleigh*, *Hancock*, *Randolph*, *Warren*, *Virginia*, *Trumbull*, *Effingham*, *Congress*, *Providence*, *Boston*, *Delaware*, *Montgomery*. Lord Effingham's name was very popular at that time because he had thrown up his commission rather than serve in the army against America.

fast as possible. Came on night before the fleet could get in. We came to anchor in Nantasket.

Remarks on Monday, the 24th of June, 1776.

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At [] in the morning weighed anchor, stood out in the bay. Saw the fleet to the southeast; saw four of the schooners belonging to the Continent. At four in the afternoon, bore away for Salem; small breeze from the S. E. At seven came to anchor.

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People employed getting sundries on board. Fair weather.

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OF CAPT. JOHN FISK.

Amicide's Cruise,
under.

16th of June, 1776.

My gave me notice of a
standing up toward
anchor, stood to the
Boston. Gave chase
fired a gun for her to
schooner coming out of
shot at the ship. The
fired at the ship. We
saw her colors. Sent
board. She is the ship
from Glasgow, one hun-
belonging to the 71st
in one of the Conti-
him to carry us into
twice, but she received

Remarks on Wednesday, the 19th of June, 1776.

At ten in the evening, came to anchor in Nantasket; the Continental schooner came to anchor alongside of us. At ten gave the charge of the Continental schooners, to carry up to

At six in the morning weighed anchor, stood out saw no sail. At five in the afternoon, bore away for

At seven in the evening, in Salem harbor.

Remarks on Thursday, the 20th of June, 1776.

Employed in getting on board water, provisions, and stores. At four in the afternoon came to sail. Anchored on in the bay; moderate breeze, pleasant weather.

Remarks on Friday, the 21st of June, 1776.

At six in the morning caught some codfish. Calm at twelve, wind breezed up to the southward. Bore away for Cape Ann harbor. At six came to anchor in the harbor. Let the Cape people go on shore to get their clothing. Fair, pleasant weather.

Remarks on Saturday, the 22d of June, 1776.

At six in the morning, sent the first lieutenant on shore, to get the people on board. At noon, the people all on board in boat. Came to sail at three. Came in thick fog; came to anchor. At four came to sail. Fair weather. Stood to the eastward. At five, saw eleven sail of topsail vessels bearing E. N. E., three leagues distant, standing S. W. for Boston. Tacked ship, stood for Salem harbor. In Salem harbor at eleven at night; sent an express to General Ward.

Remarks on Sunday, the 23d of June, 1776.

At three in the morning came to sail; stood to the S. E. At ten, saw the fleet to the southeast. Saw several of our cruisers. Stood toward the fleet; gave them a signal, which the Commodore answered. Then the fleet tacked and stood up for Boston. At six in the afternoon, came to anchor in Nantasket road. Capt. Hardin of the Connecticut brig, came on board. The fleet coming in as

fast as possible. Came on night before the fleet could get in. We came to anchor in Nantasket.

Remarks on Monday, the 24th of June, 1776.

At eight in the morning came to sail; stood out to the eastward; saw the fleet; bore away down to them; fired a signal gun, and hoisted a blue ensign at the topmast head. The Commodore answered it; the fleet tacked, stood for Boston. We beat into Boston or Nantasket Road, almost up to the Graves. Sent master and fifteen hands on board the commodore to warp him up above Deer Island. At ten they came on board again. The fleet seems to be coming into Nantasket. Tacked ship; stood to the eastward; came to sail; went to anchor abreast of Nix's Mate. Pleasant weather.

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young man, at fifteen years of age, determined to support his mother, brothers and sisters, by enlisting in a Marblehead privateer. From that time till the war ended he was afloat, —or in an English prison,—or enjoying a brief holiday at home between two voyages. Three times he was taken prisoner, and his experience in New York Harbor, in Quebec, and at Forton, make very interesting parts of his narrative. His record of the success at sea of these Vikings of Salem and Marblehead with whom he sailed, reads like a chapter of the history of some floating Amadis of Gaul. Such records belong in the records of adventure with the old tales of chivalry. Now the State of Massachusetts, sooner or later, seems to have commissioned at least six hundred privateers,—I think the number was much larger. The State archives in a broken list, give 365 names as commissioned and belonging in Boston. The list, nearly complete, of the Salem vessels, numbers 150. But it is to be observed that, in a few instances, the same name appears on both lists. Besides these towns, the coast of Maine, the Merrimack, Cape Ann and Cape Cod, Plymouth, Falmouth and Dartmouth were sending out privateers. Dartmouth was destroyed by General Gray because it was a nest of privateers. It seems certain, therefore, that six hundred is a small estimate for the number of privateers commissioned by Massachusetts. At the end of the war, Salem alone had in commission fifty-nine vessels, carrying four thousand men. At the present moment the United States has on her "active list" of the navy fifteen hundred and twenty-two officers, and the navy is allowed to enlist seventy-five hundred men and seven hundred and fifty apprentices.

It seemed to me pathetic to read, a few weeks since, in a Boston newspaper, a question inquiring, "Who was John Foster Williams of Revolutionary days?" As Williams was the most popular captain of his day in the Massachusetts service, as he fought some battles with matchless intrepidity, it seemed sad that after a hundred years even

his name should be forgotten by "leading editors" and their correspondents. After the war he was appointed to a position in the revenue service of the United States, and held high rank in that important service until his death in the year 1814. He died in Boston in Williams Street, which took its name from his family. I cannot but express the hope that some accomplished person among his numerous relatives will make it a sacred duty to prepare a careful life of this really great naval commander, with distinct reference to his exploits. The battle which he fought in the *Protector*, in which he took the *Admiral Duff*, was one of the well-contested naval actions of the war, and when he brought his prize into port, he was received as Hull was after his victory over the *Guerrière*.

And here the author of this report will ask permission to speak in his own person, that he may confess ignorance, of which the Council cannot be guilty. Separate men may err, but let us hope the Council is always right.

In some studies of this subject which I made in preparing a chapter on it for the Narrative and Critical History of America, I under-estimated the English forces arrayed against the seamen of America. In the year 1776 the English naval estimates provided for 34,665 seamen and marines, in 1777 for 55,129.

In the chapter referred to,—I cited these official returns correctly—and compared them with the best estimate I could make of the number of Americans in arms against England on the sea, I said then "there were some English privateers,—but their number was not considerable." I must now correct this statement. An appeal to Mr. Stevens's invaluable treasure-house, an index to the English archives, shows how far I was wrong. He informs me that the Public Record office of England shows that in 1778 after April three hundred and ninety-four letters of marque and reprisal were issued to Englishmen by the English offices.

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In 1779 there were five hundred and seven.

In 1780 there were three hundred and nine.

In 1781 there were three hundred and fifty-six.

In 1782 there were one hundred and twenty-six.

This does not mean that two thousand two hundred and forty-four different vessels were commissioned. A new commission was granted for every cruise. But it shows that the English privateering was large. I suppose many of these commissions to have been issued,—probably on blanks furnished from England,—by the English commanders in America. A letter from Gen. Tryon in 1779, June 29, says that the Tories there had more than six thousand men afloat in royal privateers at that time “Captured from rebels and other persecuted Loyalists.” The same letter says that these privateers of the English squadron had brought one hundred and forty-two prizes into port within the last five months. These were, however, mostly fishermen, and small coasting vessels.

It is not however the purpose of this paper to attempt detail except by way of illustration. Enough has been said to show the enormous proportions that the war at sea assumed. When it is remembered that the naval power of France was large and that her naval officers were eager to show that it was equal to that of England it will be seen how terrible must have been the losses of the English.

A careful official report made by John Adams in Paris July 6, 1780, shows that at that time the French navy had taken or destroyed twenty-three English war ships, against fifteen which they had lost from their own navy.

In the same time England had taken or destroyed twenty-five vessels of war belonging to Congress,—and had destroyed the fleet of privateers and State cruisers, consisting of seventeen vessels sent by Massachusetts into the Penobscot. Congress had taken and destroyed eight English ships of war. England had lost eleven by ship-

wreck or other accident. This is a loss to England of forty-two ships of war of all grades in four years.

Losses so large as these from the royal navy of England give another intimation of the severity of the loss of her unarmed merchant marine. Hutchinson writing in London in 1777 says that the New Englanders had eighty thousand seamen afloat at that time. He did not mean to include in this estimate, what I may call Franklin's fleet, nor the privateers and cruisers from Southern colonies. At one time I thought his estimate extravagant,—and it cannot be taken as accurate till it has been verified from other sources. But I believe it will prove, that if the naval forces of all classes and all States are included, and the estimate made for the whole confederation and not for New England alone, the number of privateersmen and of other seamen employed in the State navies and the national navy came very near one hundred thousand at the times when most men were at sea; sometimes, perhaps, even passed that number.

It must be remembered that some of the commissions given to privateers were to small vessels, cruising near land—as to cruisers in Narragansett Bay. On the other hand, vessels as large as the *Alliance* and *Protector* and *Richard* carried three hundred and even four hundred men. The average crew of a Salem privateer in 1783 when the war ended, seems to have been about sixty-six. But I am disposed to place the average crew in war time quite as high as one hundred. The nineteen vessels lost at Penobscot had carried two thousand men—and they were not fitted for cruising. Cruisers took many more men than they needed to fight their ships,—because they had to provide strong crews for their prizes. If this be a correct average,—a force of eight hundred vessels at sea would give eighty thousand men, for the whole country in the naval service.

Of the coöperation of the French fleet we have in print

many important authorities. A monograph like that of our associate, Dr. Green, on the *Comte des Deux Ponts*, is invaluable. There exists within reach, in America the MS. journals of Maccarty, the commander of one vessel in D'Estaing's fleet. He was transferred to the *America* in Portsmouth after the loss of the *Magnifique* in Boston harbor. I have here a translation of the journal of the period when he was captain of the *Magnifique*, and while he was superintending the completion of the American ships. The French archives, of course, in the reports of their naval officers, offer large supplies of detail. Mr. Stevens's indexes enable him to consult the regular reports officially made, from time to time, by each ship-captain to the Admiralty.

These references are enough to show that if one of our accomplished naval officers will take up the pleasant duty of writing the history of the Naval War of the Revolution, he will find much material which has not, as yet, been thoroughly explored. A careful study of them, will, I think, certainly show :—

1. That America had many more men in warlike service against England on the sea than on the land. There were a few weeks of 1776—when Washington had called out all the available militia—so that on paper the country had 90,000 men in the Continental line and in the Militia. It is possible that for more weeks there were a few thousand more soldiers than sailors. But, for all the rest of the war, from 1776 forward, it may be safely said that a larger force of Americans were seeking and fighting the enemy at sea than were embodied against him on land.

2. It seems probable, that this force was larger than the force of seamen which England employed against America in the Atlantic. It is certain that it is a much larger force than the Royal Navy employed—it is probably larger than were engaged in the Navy and Privateers.

known to readers of this generation. They are to be counted among the bravest of the brave; they achieved marvellous results with very small means, and they suffered enough in their country's cause to deserve to be called martyrs. The terror with which their exploits impressed the whole mercantile community of England had much to do with bringing about that change of English opinion which has been spoken of already. Poor Wickes was compelled to leave France in the *Reprisal*, when she was not, indeed, really seaworthy, and she went down on the coast of Newfoundland, on her return to America. Wickes and all his crew but one were lost.

After the French alliance, the certainty that the King of France had a navy which, for practical purposes, was as powerful as that of England, gave an excuse to Congress for relaxing its exertions in the building up of our navy. Indeed, the misfortunes which had happened to the thirteen vessels Congress had built might well discourage persons not as sanguine as John Adams. It may be added that, so soon as he left Philadelphia on the diplomatic business of the country, the Marine Committee and Congress itself seem to have been less eager in this case, than they were when they had his persistent resolution to drive them on. At the very end of the war, therefore, the United States navy consisted only of two vessels, and the period when the navy under the pay of the continent is largest is in the years 1777 and 1778. The whole list, from 1775 to 1783, as given by Cooper, is 41 vessels. But several States, while indifferent to what Congress was doing, were maintaining their own navies all along. Probably each State had one or more vessels afloat, after the beginning. Massachusetts, in particular, as belonged to her, as the great maritime State of the confederacy, always had a considerable navy on the sea. In the aggregate, it was perhaps stronger than the national navy afloat was at any one time.

Until the State constitution was adopted in 1780, Massachusetts was governed by a committee of the Council. Many of the members of this committee, from time to time, were Boston merchants, of large experience in maritime affairs. These men frequently found it to the advantage of the State to fit out a vessel which was half cruiser and half merchantman. She carried a cargo to France, to be sold for the credit of the State, and she carried guns enough and men enough to make prizes, which were exchanged for prize money for the credit of their captors. Between the beginning and the end of the war, this Massachusetts navy numbered at least 34 vessels. The finest and largest of them was the *Protector*, built at Salisbury on State account. Captain John Foster Williams, who was the most popular officer in the Massachusetts establishment, commanded the *Protector* in a successful battle against the *Duff*, which he conquered and sent in. But the *Protector* was, alas, one of the unfortunate squadron which was destroyed in the Penobscot, and, in the calamity there, the State lost all its finest vessels. Of the varied transactions, half mercantile and half warlike, which the Naval Committee of the Massachusetts Council carried on, there are quite full memoranda in the archives in the Massachusetts State House. It is in some instances difficult to distinguish the war-vessels belonging to the State from vessels which were sailing as privateers. That is to say, the State would sometimes commission a successful privateer for a single voyage, and its master would make a return to the State board regarding that particular voyage, such as he would only have made to the owners of the privateer on an ordinary occasion. This illustration of the Massachusetts history is an illustration which shows how much is to be learned from the archives of all the colonies, excepting perhaps New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; for it is believed that each of the others had one or more cruisers, at one time or another, under the direction of the State authorities. The State of South Carolina at one time had a quite considerable navy.

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wreck or other accident. This is a loss to England of forty-two ships of war of all grades in four years.

Losses so large as these from the royal navy of England give another intimation of the severity of the loss of her unarmed merchant marine. Hutchinson writing in London in 1777 says that the New Englanders had eighty thousand seamen afloat at that time. He did not mean to include in this estimate, what I may call Franklin's fleet, nor the privateers and cruisers from Southern colonies. At one time I thought his estimate extravagant,—and it cannot be taken as accurate till it has been verified from other sources. But I believe it will prove, that if the naval forces of all classes and all States are included, and the estimate made for the whole confederation and not for New England alone, the number of privateersmen and of other seamen employed in the State navies and the national navy came very near one hundred thousand at the times when most men were at sea; sometimes, perhaps, even passed that number.

It must be remembered that some of the commissions given to privateers were to small vessels, cruising near land—as to cruisers in Narragansett Bay. On the other hand, vessels as large as the *Alliance* and *Protector* and *Richard* carried three hundred and even four hundred men. The average crew of a Salem privateer in 1783 when the war ended, seems to have been about sixty-six. But I am disposed to place the average crew in war time quite as high as one hundred. The nineteen vessels lost at Penobscot had carried two thousand men—and they were not fitted for cruising. Cruisers took many more men than they needed to fight their ships,—because they had to provide strong crews for their prizes. If this be a correct average,—a force of eight hundred vessels at sea would give eighty thousand men, for the whole country in the naval service.

Of the coöperation of the French fleet we have in print

many important authorities. A monograph like that of our associate, Dr. Green, on the *Comte des Deux Ponts*, is invaluable. There exists within reach, in America the MS. journals of Maccarty, the commander of one vessel in D'Estaing's fleet. He was transferred to the *America* in Portsmouth after the loss of the *Magnifique* in Boston harbor. I have here a translation of the journal of the period when he was captain of the *Magnifique*, and while he was superintending the completion of the American ships. The French archives, of course, in the reports of their naval officers, offer large supplies of detail. Mr. Stevens's indexes enable him to consult the regular reports officially made, from time to time, by each ship-captain to the Admiralty.

These references are enough to show that if one of our accomplished naval officers will take up the pleasant duty of writing the history of the Naval War of the Revolution, he will find much material which has not, as yet, been thoroughly explored. A careful study of them, will, I think, certainly show :—

1. That America had many more men in warlike service against England on the sea than on the land. There were a few weeks of 1776—when Washington had called out all the available militia—so that on paper the country had 90,000 men in the Continental line and in the Militia. It is possible that for more weeks there were a few thousand more soldiers than sailors. But, for all the rest of the war, from 1776 forward, it may be safely said that a larger force of Americans were seeking and fighting the enemy at sea than were embodied against him on land.

2. It seems probable, that this force was larger than the force of seamen which England employed against America in the Atlantic. It is certain that it is a much larger force than the Royal Navy employed—it is probably larger than were engaged in the Navy and Privateers.

3. It will also appear that more than three thousand prizes, from the British merchant marine, were captured by the American Navy and privateersmen. This loss crippled very severely the mercantile prosperity of England. It is to be noted, in the same connection, that the supplies of spars and other naval stores from America were cut off,—and that the navy and mercantile marine of France and Spain had the advantage of them.

4. The activity of the privateers served the direct purposes of the American Army. Washington's mortars, used in the siege of Boston, were those taken from the *Nancy* in Boston Bay. The powder used by Arnold against Quebec, is said to have been that brought from the British Islands by Hopkins and Whipple. In one prize taken by Jones, before he crossed the ocean, were ten thousand English uniforms. D'Estaing's fleet in the fall of 1778 was refitted in Boston Harbor by the stores sent out to the English in New York, which had been captured by New England privateers. In 1779 Hopkins took eight out of ten vessels which Clinton was sending with men and stores to Georgia. It is fair to say that the victories of Gates and Greene and Washington are largely due to the resources which the country received in hundreds of such captures.

It is desirable that the precise facts bearing on such successes should be carefully discovered and arranged. When the country and the world discusses the question of the American fisheries, still a question of the first importance, careless critics have been heard to say that there are but one hundred thousand men engaged in those fisheries, and that so small a body is an unimportant factor of the strength of the nation. Probably there were not more than one hundred thousand of such men in the years between 1775 and 1783. But they were enough. It was they who crippled English commerce. It was they who broke down the haughty indifference with which England regarded the war

when it began. It was they; largely, who clothed and provided the American army. It was they who secured Independence. It is not simply true, that, but for them we should have no national fisheries. But for them, there would be no nation.

NOTE.—The severity of a Council report may perhaps be lightened a little by the following ballad, which only exists in manuscript.

THE YANKEE PRIVATEER.

[BY ARTHUR HALE,]

I.

Come, listen and I'll tell you
How first I went to sea,
To fight against the British
And earn our liberty.
We shipped with Captain Whipple
Who never knew a fear,
The Captain of the *Providence*,
The Yankee privateer.
We sailed and we sailed
And made good cheer;
There were many pretty men
On the Yankee privateer.

II.

The British Lord High Admiral
He wished old Whipple harm,
He wrote him that he'd hang him
From the end of his Yard-arm.
"My lord," wrote Whipple back again,
"It seems to me it's clear,
That if you want to hang him,
You must catch your Privateer."
So we sailed and we sailed
And we made good cheer,
For not a British frigate
Could come near the Privateer.

III.

We sailed to the South'ard
And nothing did we meet
Till we found three British frigates
And their West Indian fleet.
Old Whipple shut our ports
And crawled up near,
And shut us all below
On the Yankee Privateer.
So slowly he sailed
We fell to the rear
And not a soul suspected
The Yankee Privateer.

IV.

At dark he put the lights out
And forward we ran,
And silently we boarded
The biggest merchantman.
We knocked down the watch,—
The lubbers shook for fear,—
She's a prize, without a shot,
To the bold Privateer!
We sent the prize North
And dropped to the rear,
And all day we slept
On the bold Privateer.

V.

For ten days we sailed,
And, e'er the sun rose,
Each night a prize we'd taken
Beneath the Lion's nose.
When the British looked to see
Why their ships should disappear
They found they had in convoy
A Yankee Privateer.
But we sailed and we sailed
And never thought of fear;
Not a coward was on board
The Yankee Privateer.

VI.

The biggest British frigate
Bore round to give us chase,
But though he was the fleetest,
Old Whipple wouldn't race,
Till he'd raked her fore and aft,—
For the lubbers couldn't steer,—
Then he showed them the heels
Of the Yankee Privateer.
We sailed and we sailed
And we made good cheer
For not a British frigate
Could come near the privateer.

VII.

Then we sailed to the North,
To the town we all know,
And there lay our prize ;
All anchored in a row.
And welcome were we
To our homes so dear,
And we shared a million dollars
On the Yankee Privateer.
We'd sailed and we'd sailed
And we made good cheer
We had all full pockets
On the bold Privateer.

VIII.

Then we each manned a ship
And our sails unfurled,
And we bore the stars and stripes
O'er the oceans of the world.
From the proud flag of Britain
We swept the seas clear,
And we earned our independence
On the Yankee Privateer!
Then, sailors and landsmen,
One more cheer!
Here is three times three
For the Yankee Privateer!

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

IN compliance with the By-Laws the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1888.

By direction of the Finance Committee there has been carried to each fund, from the income of the investments for the past six months, three per cent. on the amount of the several funds April 1, 1888. A balance of income, amounting to about \$400, has been carried to the reserved "Income Account," making it \$938.91.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1888, was \$105,410.11, divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,702.61
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,974.85
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,519.41
The Publishing Fund,.....	20,944.57
The Isaac Davis Book Fund,.....	1,600.93
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	2,686.47
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,134.37
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,274.70
The Alden Fund,.....	1,182.51
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,252.17
The George Chandler Fund,.....	521.65
Premium Account,	676.96
Income Account,.....	938.91
	\$105,410.11

The income of the Tenney Fund for the past six months has been transferred to the Librarian's and General Fund.

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$5,077.64.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1888, is as follows :

DR.

1888. April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$3,097.04
" Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	2,561.16
" "	Received for annual assessments,.....	150.00
" "	Received from sale of publications,.....	50.00
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,.....	55.75
" "	Received payment on bond,.....	1,000.00
" "	Bank tax refunded,.....	798.67
		<hr/>
		\$7,712.62

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1888,.....	\$1,720.00
By expense of repairs,.....	52.94
Deposited in savings bank,.....	48.20
Books purchased,.....	94.83
For binding,.....	150.75
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	533.26
For insurance,.....	35.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,634.98
Balance in cash October 1, 1888,.....	5,077.64
	<hr/>
	\$7,712.62

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1888,.....	\$39,967.98	
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	1,199.04	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	150.00	
		<hr/>
		\$41,317.02
Paid for salaries,.....	\$1,070.00	
Incidental expenses, including coal bill,.....	544.41	
		<hr/>
		\$1,614.41
		<hr/>
1888, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$39,702.61

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$18,050.44
For books sold,.....	52.75
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	541.51
	<hr/>
	\$18,644.70
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,..	669.85
	<hr/>
1888, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$17,974.85

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$6,472.97
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	197.19
	<hr/>
	\$6,670.16
Paid for binding,.....	150.75
	<hr/>
1888, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$6,519.41

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$20,290.36
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	608.71
Publications sold,.....	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$20,949.07
Expense, etc.,.....	4.50
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$20,944.57

The Isaac Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,589.45
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	47.68
	<hr/>
	\$1,637.13
Paid for books,.....	36.20
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$1,600.93

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$2,608.22
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	78.25
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$2,686.47

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,124.63
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	33.74
	<hr/>
	\$1,158.37
Paid for books,.....	24.00
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$1,134.37

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$5,172.47
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	155.17
	<hr/>
	\$5,327.64
Paid for repairs,.....	52.94
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$5,274.70

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,148.07
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	34.44
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$1,182.51

1888.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$5,000.00
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	150.00
	<hr/>
	\$5,150.00
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$1,221.52
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	36.65
	<hr/>
	\$1,258.17
Paid for books,.....	6.00
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$1,252.17

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1888,.....	\$533.77
Income to October 1, 1888,.....	16.01
	<hr/>
	\$549.78
Paid for books,.....	28.13
	<hr/>
Balance October 1, 1888,.....	\$521.65
Total of the twelve funds,.....	\$103,794.24
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,.....	676.96
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....	938.91
	<hr/>
October 1, 1888, total,.....	\$105,410.11

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 870.00
22	City National Bank Worcester	2,200.00	3,014.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,350.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	480.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	900.00
2	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	520.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,.....	3,200.00	4,000.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	642.00
5	North National Bank Boston,	500.00	675.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,880.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	5,842.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,.....	3,300.00	3,597.00
31	Worcester National Bank,.....	3,100.00	4,618.00
	Total of Bank Stock,.....	\$23,000.00	\$29,388.00

30 Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,330.00
5 Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	680.00

BONDS.

Boston & Albany R. R. Bonds, 7s.,.....	\$7,000.00	\$7,665.00
Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,900.00
Eastern R. R. Bonds,.....	1,000.00	1,280.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	4,300.00	4,968.00
Chicago, Santa Fe & California R. R.,.....	3,000.00	3,130.00
Quincy Water Bonds,.....	6,000.00	6,000.00
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	43,050.00	43,050.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,.....	3,482.47	3,482.47
Cash,.....	5,077.64	5,077.64

\$105,410.11 \$115,901.11

WORCESTER, Mass., October 8, 1888.

Respectfully submitted,

NATHL PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1888, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
REUBEN COLTON.

October 16, 1888.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE Librarian takes great pleasure in reporting a marked increase in the use of the library during the past six months, with accessions from an average number of donors. Thus our President's words of last April have been reaffirmed, viz.: "That the use of our collections by scholars and students continues to grow, and the large number of gifts from others than members shows conclusively that the opportunity freely afforded for consultation is appreciated and gratefully recognized." Let me add that while this growth appears to have been slow, it has been both healthful and continuous.

Our attention is often called to the abundance of misstatements and misquotations in printed publications, including those from manuscripts and even from monumental inscriptions. The perpetuation of these blunders is sometimes far-reaching, like those handed down from generation to generation, through encyclopædias and biographical dictionaries. By way of illustrating the latter class, I may be allowed to correct an error in one of our standard dictionaries of American biography, as it relates to a deceased member. In a very concise and otherwise truthful notice of the late Hon. Charles Allen, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, the closing sentence reads: "Allen's reports make fourteen volumes (1861-8)," evidently confounding him with Charles Allen now one of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, who was the author of those reports. It is thus true that history upon her printed page is not always trustworthy; and it need hardly be added that some of her omissions

are also especially trying to the genealogist and biographer. The fact is of course recognized that errors in the copying of early manuscripts are not uncommon, and that in deciphering the chirography of some of the early fathers of New England, they are well-nigh unavoidable. An American librarian, who has not read our President's paper on "Early Books and Libraries," acknowledges the receipt of a copy of Livy, printed at Basle, Switzerland, in 1535, adding that "It is supposed to be the oldest printed book in America, except the celebrated Gutenberg Bible of 1457, purchased by Mr. Brayton Ives of New York for \$15,000." I need hardly remark in this presence that we should have little tangible proof that "the art of printing was perfected almost as soon as it was conceived," but for our numerous fifteenth and sixteenth century specimens, issued from thirty-five to sixty-five years before the Livy mentioned, and which are exhibited in our cases and upon our shelves.

To further illustrate: This month's issue of the Magazine of American History, contains an interesting article by Hon. Horatio King, entitled "A Boston Newspaper of the Revolution, 1778," from which I quote the opening and closing paragraphs. It begins: "Through the favor of Mrs. Mary E. H. Stebbins, well known in the literary world of fifty years ago, as Mary E. Hewett, author of a volume of poems—now over eighty years of age—I have in my possession a Revolutionary relic of curious interest, a newspaper, with the significant heading, *The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, Thursday, June 11, 1778, Massachusetts-State, Boston: printed by Powars and Willis, opposite the new Court House." The closing paragraphs of Mr. King's article follow: "With one other domestic incident we will close this brief description. T. & J. Fleet, Cornhill, offer for sale the second edition of Mr. Fiske's sermon on the tragical death of Mr. Joshua Spooner (who was lately barbarously murdered at Brook-

field by three ruffians, hired for that purpose by his wife), preached on the day of his interment, from 2d Samuel III: 34. *As a man fallest before wicked men so fallest thou.* Alluding to this, Mrs. Stebbins writes: My mother told us of the execution of the woman and her ruffians who were British officers. They were hung on Boston Common—the woman in white satin, between two of the men. Mr. Spooner's body was found in a well where they had thrown him. In those days parents used to send their children to see the men hung, and my grandmother sent all her children to witness the impressing ceremony." Mr. King adds: "Is there in any public or private library a copy of Mr. Fiske's sermon?" The first paragraph is given merely as showing the authority for the concluding ones, which, according to contemporary authorities, contain the following errors. First: The text of Mr. Fiske's sermon is misquoted from the *Chronicle*, which gives it correctly according to the King James version, viz.: "As a man falleth before wicked men so fellest thou." Second: The statement that the ruffians were British officers needs careful revision,—according to a pamphlet of the period, entitled "The Lives, Last Words and Dying Speech of Ezra Ross, James Buchanan and William Brooks." It begins: "I, James Buchanan, was a lieutenant in the army under General Burgoyne, born at Glasgow, in Scotland, aged 36 years. I, William Brooks was a private in said army, born in the Parish of Wednesbury, in the County of Stafford, in England, aged 27." Ezra Ross signs the document, adding, "A Continental soldier, born at Ipswich in the Parish of Lyndebrook (New England), aged 18." The reply to the assertion that the murderers were executed on Boston Common may be safely drawn from *The Massachusetts Spy or American Oracle of Liberty*, issued at Worcester, July 9, 1778, which notes the fact that "Last Thursday (July 2) were executed here for the murder of Mr. Joshua Spooner at Brookfield on

the evening of the first of March last, James Buchanan, William Brooks, Ezra Ross and Bathsheba Spooner, wife to said Joshua. Upon which occasion, a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Maccarty of this place from Deut. xix 13: Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the guilt of innocent blood from Israel that it may go well with thee." A later authority is Lincoln's History of Worcester published in 1837, which records under executions "1778, July 2, William Brooks, James Buchanan, Ezra Ross and Bathsheba Spooner for the murder of Joshua Spooner of Brookfield," adding, "As Worcester has been the seat of the courts of justice, these dreadful exhibitions have taken place here." It will not be necessary to deny that the grandmother sent all her children to Boston Common to witness "the impressing ceremony," for the greater denial includes the less. If in those days parents used to send their children "to see the men hung" we may be thankful that this is not the eighteenth but the nineteenth century. Two editions of the sermon on "The guilt of innocent blood put away," preached on the day of execution by Thaddeus Maccarty, A. M., pastor of the church in Worcester, and the first edition of that preached on the day of the interment of Mr. Joshua Spooner by Nathan Fiske, A. M., pastor of the third church in Brookfield are preserved in this Library with all the other authorities herein mentioned.

Once more: For the past thirty-two years it has been repeatedly affirmed, and perhaps as frequently denied, that this Society at one time, viz. in 1856, possessed the first edition of Mother Goose's Melodies, said to have been printed by Thomas Fleet in 1719 at his printing-house in Pudding Lane, Boston. It has been suggested by a member of our Council that an authorized denial of this statement should be made in the librarian's report, and thus the matter be put to rest so far at least as this Society is concerned. Dr. Haven was clearly

of the opinion that no such book had ever been upon our shelves and your present librarian after a second careful examination of all our material of this class, fragmentary or otherwise, as well as the newspapers of the period, fully agrees with him. In point of fact, our earliest edition of *Mother Goose* is a 24mo. of ninety-four pages, printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester about 1786-87. The title-page is imperfect but the work is advertised as "*Mother Goose's Melody; or Sonnets for the Cradle. In two parts. Part 1st Contains the most celebrated Songs and Lullabies of the old British nurses, Calculated to amuse Children and to excite to Sleep. Part 2d of Wit and Humor, Master William Shakespeare. Embellished with Cuts and illustrated with Notes and Maxims, Historical, Philosophical and Critical.*" For further light upon this whole question reference may be had to the following authorities: *Noted Names of Fiction, Pseudonyms, etc.* by William Adolphus Wheeler; *Mother Goose's Melodies* published by Hurd and Houghton in 1870 containing an essay by "G. A. R."¹ to prove that the title was given by the publisher Fleet in 1719; *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* of 1873 in which volume appear articles upon the subject by Messrs. William H. Whitmore, John A. Lewis, George Lunt and John Fleet Eliot, great-great-grandson of Elizabeth Foster Goose; *Sewall's Diary*, volume 4; *Boston Athenæum Library catalogue*, volume 3; *Memorial History of Boston*, volume 2; and *American Notes and Queries*, volume 1, number 2 (May 12, 1888). In the Thomas-Haven list of Ante-Revolutionary publications the title appears under the year 1719, followed by a query and a reference to the *Register* of April, 1873, page 144, and is as follows: "*Songs for the Nursery, or Mother Goose's Melodies, for Children, Boston, T. Fleet.*" As the latest statement of

¹ Guilielmus Adolphus Rotator, *i. e.* William Adolphus Wheeler above mentioned.

the case—viz. : that in Notes and Queries—seems a fair one, let me quote a few paragraphs from it.

“In the record of marriages in the City Registrar’s office in Boston, may be found this entry :

Thomas Fleet
Eliz’th Goose
Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, Presby’
June 8, 1715.

Now Elizabeth Goose was the oldest daughter of a lady née Elizabeth Foster, who had married July 5, 1692, into a famous Colonial family originally known as Vertigoose, changed afterwards to Vergoose, and finally shortened to Goose. Thomas Fleet was a printer, an Englishman who had emigrated to Boston in 1712, and started a printing-house in Pudding Lane. So much is fact, not legend. In 1719, it is said, there appeared from his printing-press a book with the following title: ‘Songs for the Nursery, or Mother Goose’s Melodies for Children. Printed by T. Fleet at his printing-house, Pudding Lane, 1719. Price two Coppers.’ A rude drawing of a goose with a very long neck and wide open mouth, adorned the title-page. Here we begin to tread on dubious ground. No copy of this book is now known to be in existence. Bibliomaniacs have explored every clue and failed to find it. The authority for the circumstantial description of the title page is given in G. A. R.’s edition of *Mother Goose*, Boston, 1869. About the year 1856, a gentleman of Boston,¹ a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, while examining a file of old newspapers in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, came across a dilapidated copy of the original edition of *Mother Goose’s Melodies*. Not more than twelve or fifteen pages were left, but as the price was only two coppers it is not probable that there were many more. Being in search of other matter he merely took note of the title and general condition and character of the work, intending to make a further examination of it at another time. Whether he ever did so is not known. His health being impaired he soon after went to Europe, where he remained for many months. G. A. R. goes on to say that he

¹ Mr. Edward A. Crowninshield.

became acquainted with these and other facts after the gentleman's death in 1859, and made a protracted search for the book or for any notice of it in the newspapers of the time, but without success. As to the fact that the gentleman referred to discovered an imperfect copy of the *Editio Princeps* he insists that there can be no doubt. Well, evidence of this sort is absolutely valueless and would be ruled out of any court of law. It is not quite certain that Fleet was in Pudding Lane in 1719. Either in 1713 or 1731 (the former date is favored by Winsor's History of Boston), he removed his business to Cornhill. According to an ancient account-book preserved in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Daniel Henchman, a Colonial book-seller, published in 1719 a volume of Verses for Children, which may have been the book attributed to Fleet."

It should be added, that my researches indicate that the date of Fleet's removal to Cornhill was probably 1731, as Thomas gives it in his History of Printing, and not 1713, as stated in the Memorial History of Boston. He certainly printed Cotton Mather's "Sober Sentiments" in Pudding Lane in 1722, and his "Balance of the Sanctuary" was "printed and sold by T. Fleet in Pudding Lane near the Town-House, 1727." Both of these tracts are in our Mather collection. The Boston News-Letter of June 30, 1726, advertises as just published, "Some Account of the Condition to which the Protestant Interest in the World is at this day reduced," etc., as sold by T. Fleet in Pudding Lane.

The present interest in everything which pertains to folklore as well as a desire to correct an error while furnishing an illustration, will, I trust, sufficiently excuse this extended reference. I append the following suggestive letter written since the October meeting, by our associate Dr. Langley and which needs no explanation:—

“ WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 3, 1888.

DEAR MR. HALE:

You may like to know that when in the Bodleian two months ago, I found two copies of 'Mother

eighty-two societies and institutions—three hundred and twenty-books; forty-four hundred and thirty-seven pamphlets; one hundred and twelve volumes of unbound newspapers; one framed and one hundred and twelve unframed portraits; twenty-nine maps; twenty-seven photographs; two volumes of manuscripts; one coin; one medal and one hundred and eighty-nine fac-similes of paper money, autographs, proclamations, etc. By exchange, seventy-eight books; and one hundred and three pamphlets; and from the binders ninety-five volumes, making the total accessions of the half-year, four hundred and ninety-five books; forty-five hundred and forty-three pamphlets; one hundred and twelve volumes of unbound newspapers; and the other articles above written. I desire to make special mention of a few—and of but a few—suggestive gifts. A fine copy of the portrait of “Henry Laurens in the Tower,” by Copley, recently purchased by our government, is the gift of Vice-President Hoar. Prof. William F. Allen indicates his acceptance of active membership by forwarding several of his recent historical brochures. Hon. James V. Campbell with a continuation of the series of Michigan Pioneer Collections, presents the interesting genuine and spurious editions of *Scaligerana*, of 1667. Henry W. Taft, Esq., has remembered our newspaper room by sending thereto a collection relating to the war of the Rebellion. The first supplement to Poole’s Index to Periodical Literature has been received from the author immediately upon its publication. While cabinet photographs have been contributed to our members’ album by Dr. George E. Francis and Messrs. Samuel S. Green and Reuben Colton, our treasurer, Mr. Paine, has added to our general Collection many specimens of his own work in the photographic art. Mr. Robert Clarke has made us a gift of valuable Ohio Centennial material and Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale has sent from his study a mass of benevolent and educational society reports. Dr. Justin Winsor’s contribution of portraiture and other

and thus earn at least the gratitude of posterity. In assisting to build these libraries for the people, may we not also help to bring about the good time when public library and free public library will be synonymous terms? They are not necessarily so now. For instance, while the Public Library of Boston and the Free Public Library of Worcester are equally free, the St. Louis Public Library is not so. A recent magazine article says that "In St. Louis there are two hundred and forty-one churches and no Free Public Library." This is strictly true, for while the Boston Public Library is free, the terms of membership in the St. Louis Public Library are "For all residents of St. Louis \$1.00 for four months; \$2.00 a year. Life membership \$12.00."¹ These brief remarks may properly be considered supplementary to some suggestions in the same line made in my report of October, 1886.

Before submitting the usual library statistics, I shall be pardoned if in my retrospect of fifty years I venture to quote briefly from the first report of my predecessor, which was made in October, 1838, but not printed. It will remind us all of his irrepressible wit as well as of the great increase in the number of gifts to the library. Mr. Haven said in that report, "The additions to the library and general collections during the past six months consist of between three and four hundred pamphlets, about fifty bound volumes and fifteen or twenty articles of curiosity, besides many files more or less perfect of newspapers." He adds that "Besides the actual donations, the librarian mentions with satisfaction that a respectable number of promises have been bestowed, the results of which may appear in a future report." Verily our friend dearly-beloved was "a good receiver" even of promises!

The printed list of accessions shows that we have received by gift from two hundred and fourteen sources, viz.: from forty members, ninety-two persons not members and

¹ The Library is now free for reference.

eighty-two societies and institutions—three hundred and twenty-books; forty-four hundred and thirty-seven pamphlets; one hundred and twelve volumes of unbound newspapers; one framed and one hundred and twelve unframed portraits; twenty-nine maps; twenty-seven photographs; two volumes of manuscripts; one coin; one medal and one hundred and eighty-nine fac-similes of paper money, autographs, proclamations, etc. By exchange, seventy-eight books; and one hundred and three pamphlets; and from the binders ninety-five volumes, making the total accessions of the half-year, four hundred and ninety-five books; forty-five hundred and forty-three pamphlets; one hundred and twelve volumes of unbound newspapers; and the other articles above written. I desire to make special mention of a few—and of but a few—suggestive gifts. A fine copy of the portrait of “Henry Laurens in the Tower,” by Copley, recently purchased by our government, is the gift of Vice-President Hoar. Prof. William F. Allen indicates his acceptance of active membership by forwarding several of his recent historical brochures. Hon. James V. Campbell with a continuation of the series of Michigan Pioneer Collections, presents the interesting genuine and spurious editions of *Scaligerana*, of 1667. Henry W. Taft, Esq., has remembered our newspaper room by sending thereto a collection relating to the war of the Rebellion. The first supplement to Poole’s Index to Periodical Literature has been received from the author immediately upon its publication. While cabinet photographs have been contributed to our members’ album by Dr. George E. Francis and Messrs. Samuel S. Green and Reuben Colton, our treasurer, Mr. Paine, has added to our general Collection many specimens of his own work in the photographic art. Mr. Robert Clarke has made us a gift of valuable Ohio Centennial material and Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale has sent from his study a mass of benevolent and educational society reports. Dr. Justin Winsor’s contribution of portraiture and other

illustrations from his latest and largest work will be of special service in our classified portfolios. The value of manuscripts of a minor character appears in the gift of *St. John's Echo* from the Librarian. In its issue of last February, he printed two private letters dated October 2 and December 13, 1835, from Hon. Ira M. Barton to his brother-in-law, Rev. Lot Jones, D.D., which give the long-sought information as to the circumstances attending the introduction of the Protestant Episcopal Church into Worcester. All such letters should be carefully preserved in repositories like our own. Rev. George F. Clark, in recognition of service rendered in its preparation, places upon our shelves his *History of the Temperance Reform in Massachusetts, 1873-1883*; and Dr. Pliny Earle adds to his semi-annual contributions his "Ralph Earle and his Descendants." Seven volumes of his *Shakesperiana* have been forwarded to us by Mr. James O. Halliwell-Phillipps — whose lamented death has occurred since this report was written — at the suggestion of Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens. Among the periodicals received from our binders, the *Wesby Brothers*, were numbers in duplicate which completed a set of the *Worcester Academe* for the school in whose interest it is published. At the request of Mr. Royal Paine we have received from Messrs. Macdonald and Williams, publishers of the Putnam (Conn.) *Patriot*, twenty-three numbers of their paper, comprising about as many columns of *Woodstock Ancient Records*. They contain lists of marriages from the settlement of the town, April 9, 1690, to December 1, 1780, and of baptisms from June 29, 1727, to May, 1834. Such work is creditable to all concerned and should be in every way and everywhere encouraged. Mr. Caleb B. Metcalf's donation includes his *Records, 1846-1856*, as Master of the Boys' English School, later known as the Thomas Street Grammar School. They are of real historic value and have been examined with much interest by the Worcester boys of that period. The Ames Free Library

Bulletin was curiously enough addressed to our hard-working Librarian and cataloguer of 1827-30 and 1831-35, Christopher C. Baldwin, who died more than fifty-three years ago! A clearance of pamphlets and newspapers not especially desirable for a public library has been given to us at the request of Miss Sarah F. Earle, by the Trustees of the Grafton Public Library. I desire to give thanks for the classified and descriptive book-sale and other catalogues received, which are always to us as they must be to other busy librarians real labor-savers. The receipt of a most useful catalogue of the Sunday School Library of the Second Church, Worcester, prepared as a labor of love by a daughter of our late lamented councillor, Dr. Joseph Sargent, has called our attention to one of the very best of its kind. It may well serve as a sample for many another of the same class. The first number of his "Mail Book Auction Catalogue—patent applied for"—a strictly new arrangement for the disposing of books, has been received from a North-western correspondent. The following paragraph states the plan: "The books will be shipped to the first bidder if the offer proves acceptable, otherwise the bids will be filed and the books kept for four weeks for competition or offers which may arrive during this period, after which time they will be sent without reserve to the highest bidder." It is a bit of history in the art of book-selling and book-buying which it seems well to note.

The Librarian has lately been reminded, by the arrival of certain publications, of the importance of clear title-pages that neither the reader nor the card cataloguer may be in doubt as to the authorship, etc. I refer to such titles as these, which to say the least are somewhat ambiguous: "The Bishop's Address, A. D. 1884, Diocese of Albany." "Thirty-first Anniversary of the Salem-Street Church. By the Pastor." "Addresses by the Bishop of Central New York." "Everlasting Punishment attended with

Everlasting Decay. A Discourse. By a Congregational Pastor." And "Live Soberly: a Sermon preached to the First Church in Brookline. By the Pastor." In such cases, if the date be given, we may with slight trouble find the good Bishop's name, but if no date appears, we are truly on a sea of doubt as to what Bishop, which pastor, or even the place to which an acknowledgment should be sent. Such excessive modesty may be highly creditable, but it is certainly very confusing.

It was Dr. Haven's habit when the accessions were — as at this time — less than usual, to draw upon his own private library, so that a fair growth might always be reported. This privilege has often been taken of late years by our President and ex-President. It is interesting to note the early method of collecting material for the Society, as it appears in the "communication" from the President, October 24, 1814. He says, "Articles intended to be presented to the library or museum of the American Antiquarian Society, may be lodged at No. 6 Marlborough Street, Boston, where they will be received, carefully attended to, and forwarded to the librarian and cabinet keeper. James Wilkinson, Esq., of Providence, will also receive articles presented to the Society. Magazines, newspapers, almanacks, or any books published in the country, especially such as were early printed in North and South America, or the Westindia Islands, will be very acceptable to the Society." Possibly the scattered members needed a second call to duty, for in "the address to members," in March, 1819, receiving officers were named for Massachusetts, Old Colony, District of Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee and Louisiana, and the statement was volunteered — true now as then — that "Many of the articles were presented by gentlemen not members of the Institution." As a sample of the quality of the collectors

it may be mentioned that one of the representatives in New York State was the Hon. DeWitt Clinton.

I venture to make a parenthetical suggestion, more especially to my brother librarians, to the effect that the sending of small parcels long distances by express when the same may be forwarded as safely and at less expense by mail should be vigorously discouraged. The unhappy custom which prevails in at least one State document room of allowing the express to pay a small sum for the doing up of each bundle, and then to collect of the receiver, is another small matter, too small, in fact, for any State or municipal government to countenance.

It has been suggested that from time to time short lists of our wants should appear in the body of the Librarian's report, and it seems possible that good may result from a step in this direction. We shall be very glad to secure any of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company's Election sermons for the following years to complete our set, viz.: 1660 (1672 is imperfect), 1676, 1691, 1695, 1698, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1704, 1705, 1708, 1720, 1737, 1748, 1765 (1767 is imperfect), 1788, 1795, 1830 and 1851. Capt. Albert A. Folsom has continued his interest in our behalf, so that we now have one of the best sets in existence.

We lack volume 5 of the Narragansett Club publications and can supply volume 1. Of the Hakluyt Society volumes we need all after 48; and of *The Dial of Chicago* we desire the numbers for October, 1882, and January 1883, with the title-page and index to volume 3. A *Worcester Palladium* for October 12, 1836, will make entire our file of that paper. Any numbers of the *Boston Daily Whig* are desired. To complete *The Liberator* we want 1831, February 5 and 12 (January 15, February 26, March 26, April 9, and June 11 are imperfect), 1834, March 22 (February 22 and November 1 are imperfect), and 1848, September 22.

The following is a list of missing numbers in our file of

the *Boston News-Letter*, 37-70 (71 is imperfect), 76-80, 87, 90-140, 144-167, 189, 194-206, 220-256, 259-381, 383-387, 393-399, 405-415, 442-453, 455-466, 495-515, 517, 518, 521-558, 572-578, 581-584, 598-606, 608-610, 614-620, 629-634, 637-639, 643-645, 649-656, 689-691, 693-720, 723-725, 727-763, 765-768, 774-783, 785-789, 791-793, 807-809, 811-815, 817-820, 823, 826-833, 837-863. It will be understood that the dash indicates that we wish the numbers named and all between.

Among our wants should be included any books formerly owned by Richard, Increase, Cotton or others of the Mather family. We own so many of the working tools of the early Mathers that it would seem desirable that all these tools should be gathered into our Mather alcove as a memorial of their scholarship. The books are usually indicated by their autographs which are frequently in latin. It is quite well known that original portraits of the three above named members of the family as well as of two of the Samuels have for many years been the property of the Society and that our collection of their own works is one of the very best. I further wish at this time to make an urgent appeal for church music, early and late, to be added to our collection, already large and rare. Even before the musical library of Mr. Oliver Holden was sent us by some Charlestown friend, we had numerous specimens made from copper-plates, the early typographically printed music and many later products of the musical press. The unknown donor of the Holden Library may be glad to learn that by it we were enabled to answer some important questions for use by Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage in a biographical sketch of its owner.

The arrival in America of the historical library of Leopold Von Ranke, is worthy of mention. Chancellor Lewis of Syracuse University is authority for the statement that it will there be furnished with fire-proof quarters, and be made as useful as possible to the American scholar. As a national body we should be especially grateful for every

such addition to our rapidly increasing library wealth. It may be questioned whether it is better to keep such a library wholly together, but it will be generally agreed that it should, at least, be under one administration.

It seems proper occasionally to remind our members and friends that scarcely anything they are likely to send us will come amiss. One of our careful and industrious historians, in the preparation of an article upon the early paper makers of Worcester County, recently made good use of the manufacturers' water-marks upon the unprinted pages kindly given us for use in the repairing of books or pamphlets requiring old or discolored paper. Our large collection of arithmetics was examined, the past season, by a distinguished mathematician, who was seeking information as to the history and progress of such text-books. Let us remember that collectors as wise as Messrs. George Brinley and George Livermore did not ignore even this class of books. One of our latest calls for what would ordinarily be thought worthless has been for a collection of the art sale catalogues of the past twenty-five years for use in tracing an artist and the person portrayed, and thus settling important points in dispute. These examples once more enforce the truth of the statement that a library of American history can hardly be too inclusive. It should always be a trial to the custodian of such a library to be obliged to give a negative answer to a call for any authority, old or new, however trivial, remembering always the saying of Dr. Holmes that "old books are the books of the world's youth and new books are the fruits of its age." The following from the *Library Journal* of July, 1887, bears directly upon this subject, and, while it may be too strongly stated, contains food for reflection. The editor says: "We believe in having one library in the world where all literature, so far as it can be brought together, shall be kept, not for reading, but for reference. In that place and for that purpose it does not matter whether the literature is

valuable or worthless from the point of view of a newspaper writer or anybody else. The object to be attained is that anybody at any time shall be able to find anything that has once been printed, which for any reason he desires to see. This object is defeated if any part of the books which come into the repository are carried off to be read to pieces in popular libraries."

On the 26th day of April last your librarian read a second paper before the Columbia College Library School, taking, this time, for his general subject, "Minor Topics in Library Economy." As it was to some extent the recitation of those practical lessons learned under a good master in Antiquarian Hall during the years 1866-1881, the bare fact is here mentioned.

The following contribution to the literature of slavery in Massachusetts was found carefully bound with our file of the *New England Weekly Journal* for 1737, and has been transferred to the alcove of Slavery and Rebellion. The endorsement thereon—which is in the hand-writing of Chief Justice Sewall—reminds one of Mr. Weeden's statement in his paper upon The Early African Slave-Trade in New England, read at our meeting last October, that "even Cotton Mather employed his negro servant." It is as follows: "Left at my house for me when I was not at home, by Spaniard, Dr. Mather's Negro: March 23, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$." I do not find that this document has seen the light in any other form, and therefore reproduce it as exactly as possible. The text follows:—

R U L E S

For the Society of

NEGROES. 1693.

WE the Miserable Children of *Adam*, and of *Noah*, thankfully Admiring and Accepting the Free-Grace of GOD, that Offers to Save us from our Miseries, by the Lord Jesus Christ, freely Resolve, with His Help, to become the Servants of that Glorious LORD.

And that we may be Assisted in the Service of our *Heavenly Master*, we now Join together in a SOCIETY, wherein the following RULES are to be observed.

- I. It shall be our Endeavour, to Meet in the *Evening* after the *Sabbath*; and *Pray* together by Turns, one to Begin, and another to Conclude the Meeting; And between the two *Prayers*, a *Psalm* shall be Sung, and a *Sermon* Repeated.
- II. Our coming to the Meeting, shall never be without the *Leave* of such as have Power over us: And we will be Careful, that our Meeting may Begin and Conclude between the Hours of *Seven* and *Nine*; and that we may not be *unseasonably Absent* from the Families whereto we pertain.
- III. As we will, with the Help of God, at all Times avoid all *Wicked Company*, so we will Receive none into our Meeting, but such as have sensibly *Reformed* their lives from all manner of Wickedness. And therefore, None shall be Admitted, without the Knowledge and Consent of the *Minister* of God in this Place; unto whom we will also carry every Person, that seeks for *Admission* among us; to be by Him Examined, Instructed and Exhorted.
- IV. We will, as often as may be, Obtain some Wise and Good Man, of the *English* in the Neighbourhood, and especially the Officers of the Church, to look in upon us, and by their Presence and Counsel, do what they think fitting for us.
- V. If any of our Number, fall into the Sin of *Drunkenness*, or *Swearing*, or *Cursing*, or *Lying*, or *Stealing*, or notorious *Disobedience* or *Unfaithfulness* unto their Masters, we will *Admonish* him of his Miscarriage, and Forbid his coming to the Meeting, for at least *one Fortnight*; And except he then come with great Signs and Hopes of his *Repentance*, we will utterly exclude him, with Blotting his *Name* out of our List.
- VI. If any of our Society Defile himself with *Fornication*, we will give him our *Admonition*; and so, debar him from the Meeting, at least *half a Year*: Nor shall he Return to it, ever any more, without Exemplary Testimonies of his becoming a *New Creature*.
- VII. We will, as we have Opportunity, set our selves to do all the Good we can, to the other *Negro-Servants* in the Town; And if any of them should, at unfit Hours, be *Abroad*, much more, if any of them should *Run away* from their Masters, we will afford them *no Shelter*: But we will do what in us lies, that they may be discovered, and punished. And if any *of us*, are found Faulty, in this Matter, they shall be no longer *of us*.
- VIII. None of our Society shall be *Absent* from our Meeting, without giving a *Reason* of the Absence; And if it be found, that any have pretended unto their *Owners*, that they came unto the *Meeting*, when they were otherwise and elsewhere

Employ'd, we will faithfully *Inform* their Owners, and also do what we can to Reclaim such Person from all such Evil Courses for the Future.

IX. It shall be expected from every one in the Society, that he learn the *Catechism*; And therefore, it shall be one of our usual Exercises, for one of us, to ask the *Questions*, and for all the rest in their Order, to say the *Answers* in the *Catechism*; Either, The *New-English* Catechism, or the *Assemblies* Catechism, or the Catechism in the *Negro Christianized*.

Before closing, let me call your attention to the fact that to-morrow, October 23d, two of our most distinguished associates, honored alike for their faithfulness to this Society, and to all duties, public and private, will have served us for half a century. Their names will readily occur to you as the first two on our list of members, viz.: the Honorable George Bancroft, and the Honorable Robert Charles Winthrop. It may be proper to add that their friend and ours — Samuel Foster Haven — was elected to membership at the same time.

It has been my privilege to present for your consideration five consecutive reports as Assistant-Librarian in charge, in addition to the brief reports made in Dr. Haven's absence; and the present is the twelfth since my promotion to the librarian's chair. In their preparation I have tried to have in view a definite purpose: with an earnest desire first of all to forward, in a suggestive way, the work of the Society. It need hardly be added that the second wish has been to honor the profession of my choice by giving all possible aid and comfort to my fellow-librarians, now so happily associated in their honorable calling and in their abundant labors.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ALDRICH, HON. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Files of the "National Temperance Advocate," and "Law and Order," in continuation.
- ALLEN, Prof. WILLIAM F., Madison, Wis.—Three of his own publications.
- BARTON, Mr. EDMUND M., Worcester.—Ten pamphlets; "St. John's Echo," and "St. Andrew's Cross," in continuation.
- BELL, HON. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—His "Exeter Quarter Millennial."
- CAMPBELL, HON. JAMES V., Detroit, Mich.—"Michigan Pioneer Collections," Vols. 10 and 11, and "Scaligerana," the genuine and spurious editions of 1667.
- CHANDLER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—One book; and forty-seven pamphlets.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Esq., Worcester.—Five books; four maps; and one hundred and five pamphlets.
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—Forman's "Narrative of a Journey down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1779-80."
- COLTON, Mr. REUBEN, Worcester.—A cabinet photograph of himself.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Forty-five selected pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, *President*, Berkeley, Cal.—Register of the University of California, 1887-88.
- DAVIS, HON. J. C. BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—"Johann Schöner, Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg. A Reproduction of his Globe of 1523."
- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Johnston's "Yale and her Honor-roll in the American Revolution, 1775-1783;" "Proceedings in Commemoration of the Settlement of the Town of New Haven," April 25, 1888; and two Yale pamphlets.
- EDES, Mr. HENRY H., Charlestown.—Twelve books; thirteen pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.
- FRANCIS, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—A cabinet photograph of himself.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His "Groton Historical Series," I., 5-9; his "History of the Congregational Church in Nova Scotia"; the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation; two books; and two hundred and twenty-three pamphlets.
- GREEN, Mr. SAMUEL S., Worcester.—"Report of the Class of 1858 of Harvard College, 1888;" and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Esq., Savannah, Ga.—One pamphlet.
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., Amherst.—One College pamphlet.

- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—A framed photograph of Copley's portrait of Henry Laurens; and the "Official Record of the War of the Rebellion," as issued.
- JONES, Hon. CHARLES C., Augusta, Ga.—His Address at the Tenth Reunion of the Confederate Survivors' Association.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Two books; and eighty-five pamphlets.
- NELSON, Hon. THOMAS L., Worcester.—"Wharton's Digest of the International Law of the United States;" the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the Edition of 1672; and the "General Catalogue and Brief History of Kimball Union Academy."
- NEWBERRY, JOHN S., LL.D., New York.—His "Notes on the Geology and Botany of the Country bordering the Northern Pacific Railroad."
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—"The Spirit of Missions," in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-one photographs, taken by him; two books; ninety pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Mendon, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued; and two of his brochures.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.—Journal of the Special Convention of the Diocese of Iowa, 1888; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—"The Dial," as issued.
- PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERICK W., Cambridge.—His "Palæolithic man in Eastern and Central North America."
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, Providence, R. I.—His "Oration upon the dedication of the Equestrian Statue of General Burnside, at Providence."
- SALISBURY, JAMES H., M.D., New York.—His "Relation of Alimentation and Disease."
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN, Esq., Worcester.—Two of his Yucatecan reprints; "Worcester, Past and Present;" one hundred and eighty-one pamphlets; and eight files of newspapers.
- SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—His paper on "The Centennial Anniversary of Ohio;" and eight Ohio pamphlets.
- SMYTH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—Four College pamphlets.
- TAFT, HENRY W., Esq., Pittsfield.—A parcel of New York City newspapers, 1861-65.
- WASHBURN, Hon. JOHN D., Worcester.—Five files of Insurance periodicals; and sixty-five pamphlets.
- WHITE, ANDREW D., LL.D., Ithaca, N. Y.—His "New Chapter in the warfare of Science."
- WILLIAMS, Mr. J. FLETCHER, St. Paul, Minn.—His "Tribute to the Memory of Rev. Harvey Shipp Widney."
- WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—One hundred and twelve portraits; nineteen town views; thirty-eight fac-similes of paper money, autographs and proclamations; forty-six cuts; and four pamphlets.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—“Proceedings of the Winthrop Training School, May 12, 1888.”

FROM THOSE NOT MEMBERS.

BAILEY, Mr. ISAAC H., New York.—His “Shoe and Leather Reporter,” as issued.

BAKER, Mrs. FRANCES M., Worcester.—Thirteen pamphlets.

BALDWIN, Messrs. JOHN D. AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

BALDWIN, Mr. WILLIAM H., Boston.—Report of the Boston Young Men's Christian Union, 1888.

BARBER, Miss RUTH E., Worcester.—One book; and two pamphlets.

BLANCHARD, Messrs. FRANK S. AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their “Practical Mechanic,” as issued; and the “Yankee Almanac.”

BOARDMAN, SAMUEL L., Esq., Augusta, Me.—His “Eastern Farmer,” as issued.

BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., Boston.—His “Sermons for all Sects.”

BROOKS, Rev. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*.—Journal of the proceedings of the 98th Annual Meeting of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Massachusetts.

BUCHANAN, Mrs. JOHN L., Richmond, Va.—One historical pamphlet.

BULLARD, Miss LOUISA D., Cambridgeport.—One pamphlet.

BURBANK, Mr. CHARLES H., Lowell.—The Lowell Year Book, 1887-88.

BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Four selected pamphlets.

CANFIELD, Mrs. P. W., Worcester.—Five books; four pamphlets; and one medal.

CHICKERING, Prof. JOSEPH K., Amherst.—Fifty-three pamphlets.

CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., Hubbardston.—His “History of the Temperance Reform in Massachusetts, 1813-1883.”

CLARKE, Mr. ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—Ten books and two pamphlets relating to the history of Ohio.

COOK, Mr. HENRY H., Barre.—His “Gazette,” as issued.

CRANE, Mr. JOHN C., Millbury.—His “Tribute to Asa Holman Waters;” and one pamphlet.

CRUNDEN, Mr. FREDERICK M., St. Louis, Mo.—One pamphlet.

CURTIS, Hon. GEORGE M., New York.—His argument for the defence in the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* Buford.

DANIELS, Rev. CHARLES H., Portland, Me.—One historical pamphlet.

DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—Four of his own publications.

DAVIS, ISAAC, FAMILY OF THE LATE.—Twenty maps and plans; and the Worcester Village Directory, edition of 1829.

DODGE, JAMES H., Esq., *Auditor*, Boston.—His report for 1887-88.

DOE, Messrs. CHARLES H. AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their daily and weekly Gazette, as issued.

- EARLE, PLINY, M.D., Northampton.—His "Ralph Earle and his Descendants;" thirty-two numbers of magazines; and sixty-four pamphlets.
- ELIOT, CHARLES W., LL.D., Cambridge.—His address on the "Working of the American Democracy."
- FELTON, Mr. CYRUS, Marlborough.—His Genealogical History of the Felton family.
- FLAGG, SAMUEL, M.D., Worcester.—Belknap's American Biography, Vol. I.
- FOLSOM, Capt. ALBERT A., Boston.—The two hundred and forty-ninth Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts.
- FOOTE & HORTON, Messrs., Salem.—Their "Gazette," as issued.
- FOSTER, Mr. WILLIAM E., *Librarian*, Providence, R. I.—His Tenth Annual Report.
- GALE, Lieut. GEO. H. G., U. S. A.—One book; and four pamphlets.
- GAY, Miss MARY C., Suffield, Conn.—The Connecticut Courant for 1886 and 1887.
- GEROULD, Mrs. JAMES H., Worcester.—Six books; seventeen pamphlets; and fourteen numbers of magazines.
- GIBBS, Mrs. MARY E., Worcester.—Ninety-eight numbers of magazines; and twenty-one pamphlets.
- GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., New York.—The Fourth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.
- GREEN, Mr. MARTIN, Worcester.—Forty-two pamphlets.
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- HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, Mr. J. O., Brighton, Eng.—Six of his brochures upon Shakespeare and his works.
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- HAWKINS, RUSH C., Esq., New York.—His "Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Thomas Hutchinson, A. M., of Pomfret, Vt."
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- LEESON, Mr. J. R., Boston.—His "Flax, shall it be free or protected;" and two pamphlets.
- LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Esq., Worcester.—His Report of the Parks-Commission of Worcester, 1887.
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- MACFIE, Mr. R. A., Edinburgh, G. B.—His “Copyright and Patents for Inventions”; and one pamphlet.
- MARBLE, ALBERT P., Ph.D., Worcester.—His remarks upon “Manual Training, and upon the Blair Bill.”
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- RICH, Mr. MARSHALL N., Portland, Me.—“The Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.
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- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—The “American Missionary,” and “Helping Hand,” in continuation.
- ROBINSON, Mr. WILLIAM H., Worcester.—An English silver coin of the year 1562.
- ROE, Mr. ALFRED S., Worcester.—Reprints of the edition of 1788 and 1789, of the Methodist Book of Discipline; one hundred pamphlets; and sixty-seven numbers of magazines.
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- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL, TRUSTEES OF.—Their twenty-fourth Annual Report.
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- W P I, EDITORS OF THE.—Their monthly, as issued.
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THE CASE OF BATHSHEBA SPOONER.

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

[Mr. Green has furnished for publication the following report, somewhat amplified, of his remarks made at the annual meeting.—COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.]

Mr. President, may I add a few remarks to the sentences in the report of the Librarian respecting Mrs. Spooner?

I am very distantly related to that unfortunate woman and having considered somewhat carefully the circumstances of her life, wish to say a few words in defence of her memory.

As all the members of this society know, Mrs. Bathsheba Spooner came to her untimely end in the town of Worcester. Her remains are in a grave in the north-eastern portion of that place; the exact spot where they are buried is known, I presume, to only a few of the descendants of the first Dr. John Green of Worcester, who married Mary Ruggles, a sister of Mrs. Spooner. It is enough to say that they rest in an unmarked grave within the bounds of the estate formerly owned by the husband of her sister Mary and occupied by him and his family. The land is still in the possession of some of Dr. Green's posterity.

Mrs. Spooner was charged, as you well know, Mr. President, with being "accessory before the fact" to the murder of her husband. The ground of the defence set up for her by the first Levi Lincoln, her counsel, was that she was insane. I do not propose taking time to enumerate the facts recited by Mr. Lincoln in support of his plea, for as good an account of those, and of the testimony, and

other circumstances of the trial, as, so far as I know, is now in existence has already been printed in the description given by our associate, Mr. Peleg W. Chandler, in the second volume of his *American Criminal Trials*.¹

From that book may also be obtained such information as the compiler and author was able to collect from sources available to him regarding the murder, trial and execution, with comments by him concerning the circumstances attendant upon them.

I will only say here that an examination of the testimony given at the trial as recorded in the work under consideration, defective as is the report therein contained, makes the plea of the counsel appear very plausible and, in my opinion, compels the conviction that Mrs. Spooner would be acquitted on the ground urged by him were her trial to occur to-day. Her actions both before and after the murder, as narrated in the minutes of the trial, are best accounted for on the supposition of insanity. They appear to have been those of a mad woman. Many cool-headed contemporaries of Mrs. Spooner believed that she was beside herself when she committed the act for which she was tried.

Thus, according to the testimony of my aunt, Mrs. Dr. Benjamin F. Heywood, who stands one generation nearer to the sister of Mrs. Spooner than I do, her counsel, Mr. Lincoln, declared again and again during the years of his life which succeeded the trial that he not only *contended* that she was crazy but that he *believed* her to be so. He used to instance eccentricities noticeable in her conduct at times before the murder when she came from Brookfield to Worcester.

¹ "The testimony of the witnesses," writes Chandler, "is derived from the notes of Judge Foster. It is not well reported, some portions being very obscure, but I have thought it best to make only slight alterations." Vol. II., p. 13, note.

In writing about Mr. Lincoln's argument, Chandler says "A brief and imperfect abstract of his address to the jury is all that can now be collected." Vol. II., p. 26.

Hon. Nathaniel Paine, the grandfather of our efficient Treasurer, a gentleman who soon after the time of which I am speaking was appointed Judge of Probate in Worcester County, an office which he held for thirty-five years, sat through the whole of the proceedings of the trial, as I learn from Mrs. Heywood, and expressed it as his firm conviction that Mrs. Spooner should have been acquitted on the evidence presented as to her sanity.

The testimony of tradition, as I gather it from some members of my family, is that Mrs. Spooner was not only out of her mind just before the murder but that her acts for a long time had been those of a markedly eccentric person.¹

Our venerable associate, Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, who it may be remarked is one of the persons from whom Chandler acquired information regarding Mrs. Spooner, is, as you know, the historian of the town of Hardwick, in which place General Ruggles, the father of that unfortunate woman, was for many years the most prominent resident. Dr. Paige has examined carefully all the sources of information regarding General Ruggles and Mrs. Spooner, and has formed an intimate acquaintance with the facts in the lives of many of their ancestors and descendants, and has announced as the result of his thorough researches, in his admirable history of Hardwick, emphatically, that in his opinion Mrs. Spooner was insane. I will not repeat his arguments here for they are printed in his history. I will only mention one piece of testimony which he brings forward in showing that Mrs. Spooner was insane, namely: that her daughter, Bathsheba, who died in Cambridge about thirty years ago, had been hopelessly crazy for many years before her death.

¹ Our associate, Mr. Robert Noxon Toppan of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who is a member of the Ruggles family, writes me that he remembers that his grandmother (the wife of Dr. Robert Noxon and the daughter of Captain Lazarus Ruggles of New Milford, Connecticut), often told him when young about General Ruggles and Mrs. Spooner, and that she always spoke of the latter as crazy.

I wish to add another similar piece of evidence. My grandmother, the wife of the second Dr. John Green and the daughter-in-law of the first Dr. John Green and his wife (the sister of Mrs. Spooner before mentioned), stated to her daughter, Mrs. Heywood, as I learn from that lady, that her mother-in-law, Mary (Ruggles) Green, was made temporarily insane by the troubles which preceded and accompanied the trial and execution of her sister. A brother of Mrs. Heywood, the third Dr. John Green, for many years a councillor in this Society, also told her that he had been similarly informed.

Mrs. Spooner's father, Judge Timothy Ruggles (or as he is generally termed Brigadier-General Ruggles), was one of the most distinguished citizens of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. He adhered, you will remember, to the cause of the King, instead of taking the popular side, during the Revolution and the years of discussion which preceded it. The people in Worcester and its neighborhood were incensed with him for adopting that position, and although he was a true friend of his country and honest in his political opinions, at the time of the trial of Mrs. Spooner he had come to be "regarded," writes Chandler truly, "as the worst of traitors, and his name was held in the utmost abhorrence."¹ Mrs. Spooner was very fond of her father and probably sympathized with him in his political views.

In consideration of these facts it has generally been thought that the intensity of the hostile feeling which existed in the community towards her father on account of the political principles which he held and acted on (opinions shared, it is presumed by herself), prevented that impartiality of judgment of the case of Mrs. Spooner, which would have been accorded it by the undisturbed judgment of men in a calm and unprejudiced state of mind. With the state of feeling prevalent among the citizens of Massachusetts Bay in 1778 it must have been difficult for the com-

¹ Chandler, Vol. II., p. 7.

munity, the jury and the executive officers of the State to have viewed the charge against Mrs. Spooner with unbiased minds. To cite only a single instance, it seems probable that the action of the council of the State of Massachusetts Bay in refusing to grant a reprieve to Mrs. Spooner until the time had come for the birth of a quick child which she claimed to carry in her womb, was influenced by the excitement existing in the community regarding prominent tories.

Mrs. Spooner petitioned for a reprieve. Two men-midwives, and a jury of twelve matrons were selected to examine her. They reported that in their opinion she was not quick with child. Thereupon she petitioned the council, again averring that she was "absolutely certain of being in a pregnant state and above four months advanced in it; and that the infant she bore was lawfully begotten."¹ The council refused to grant the petition. Then a strong effort was made to induce them to change their minds. Rev. Mr. Maccarty, the attending clergyman, sought a reprieve with great earnestness, expressing it as his firm belief that the jury of matrons was mistaken. The two men-midwives changed their minds and united with a woman midwife and Dr. Green, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Spooner, in a statement which was presented to the council to the effect that they then believed that the petitioner was quick with child. The effort made was fruitless, however. In a case in which there was so much reason for deliberation, and in which the precedents of common law seemed so conclusive as to the duty of reprieving a woman in Mrs. Spooner's condition, the undue haste of the council appears to be best accounted for on the ground that the hostility which existed against her and her father rendered it hard even for the chief authorities of the State to be impartial in their determinations.

As is well known, a post-mortem examination of the

¹ Chandler, Vol. II., p. 49.

body of Mrs. Spooner showed a fœtus in her womb of the age of five months. It was quick, of course, when she petitioned for a reprieve, and had been conceived a month before the date of the murder of her husband.

In trying to account for the alleged crime of Mrs. Spooner, Chandler says: "Whether she was actuated by aversion to her husband, or was hurried on by the blind impulse of unchaste desire, it is now impossible to know, as she never made any revelations on the subject, and the statements of Ross are not worthy of entire confidence; but it seems probable that she was conscious that her conjugal infidelity must soon inevitably become known to her husband, and desired the death of one who must soon have indubitable evidence of her guilt. This accounts for the inconsistency of her conduct and the desperate eagerness with which she undertook to accomplish her purpose."¹

But why suppose that an improper intimacy grew up between Mrs. Spooner and the boy Ross, who had been an inmate of her husband's family and had secured the affection of both husband and wife? Or supposing that such an intimacy did grow up, was not Mrs. Spooner crazy when it grew up? It seems to me that neither of the suppositions adopted by Chandler to account for the part taken by Mrs. Spooner in the murder of her husband is so probable an explanation of the facts of the case as the one brought forward by her counsel, namely, that she was insane. The facts which I have adduced, some of which were not known to Mr. Chandler, and others which could not have been known to him, add much weight, in my opinion, to that conclusion. Mrs. Spooner had been well brought up,² and her position

¹ Chandler, Vol. II., p. 10.

² The stories of the results of domestic infelicity in her father's family have been very much exaggerated. There is not the slightest foundation for the statement that has sometimes been made that General Rugles set his daughter an example of domestic infidelity. He was an exceedingly hospitable man, but himself, certainly during portions of his life, very abstemious. He was also pure.

in society had always been such that she had everything to lose and nothing to gain by crime. Her mental characteristics and peculiarities might readily have developed into insanity under the uncongenial influences of her married life and the excitement accompanying the experience of the bitter feelings of the community towards a father whom she loved passionately and whose views she probably shared.¹

¹ Since making these remarks an eminent lawyer, and a well-known physician who has occupied successfully for the last forty years prominent positions in institutions for the treatment of the insane, have each stated to me, after examining the evidence carefully, that it is their opinion that, if Mrs. Spooner were to be put on trial to-day and defended on the ground of unsoundness of mind, she would be discharged. I am glad, also, to be able to add that the same views have been expressed to me since the meeting of the society by one of the most distinguished students of American history. I will not undertake to reproduce at length here the opinions of these gentlemen, but may return to the consideration of the whole subject at some future time and treat it more elaborately than would be proper in the Proceedings of this society.

HOPKINSIANISM.

BY ANDREW P. PEABODY.

SAMUEL HOPKINS was born at Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1721, graduated at Yale College in 1741, was settled as a minister at Great Barrington, then the Second Parish of Sheffield, Massachusetts, in 1743, became minister of the First Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1770, and died at Newport in 1803. He was a profound and original thinker, and while never attractive as a preacher, he exercised, through the press, an extensive and by no means short-lived influence on New England theology. His system, while at certain points it seemed Calvinism intensified, was, nevertheless, a revolt against some of the dogmas deemed fundamental by the Genevan reformer. Dr. Hopkins denied the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, and of Christ's righteousness to the redeemed; yet maintained that Adam's posterity inherited from him a sinful and ruined nature, being born sinners, and that Christ's righteousness is the meritorious cause by means of which alone a portion of the human race are saved from the everlasting punishment which all, even infants, deserve for their sinful nature, and which also is justly due as the penalty for any single sinful act or volition which, as an offence against the Infinite Being, itself becomes infinite. Selfishness, according to him, is the essence of all sin, and virtue consists in disinterested benevolence, embracing every being in the universe, God and all his creatures, and self only as an infinitesimal part of the universe. Thus so far is self-love from being the measure of brotherly love,

that love for the remotest being in the universe is the normal measure of self-love. Man, according to the same system, is a free agent, that is, can do as he wills, but is morally incapable of aught but evil before conversion, has a depraved will, can do nothing toward his own conversion, sins in his every endeavor to improve his moral condition, and is entirely dependent on the supernatural agency of the Holy Spirit for his regeneration.

The supreme purpose of God in the creation of this world and of man, according to Dr. Hopkins, was the manifestation of his own glory, and that glory can be manifested only by doing what he will with his own. By his very nature he is above all law, and the laws which he enacts for his creatures have no claim on his observance. With him might creates right. From the human race, sinners by the depraved nature inherited from Adam, and therefore meriting eternal misery, he, in a past eternity, by his own arbitrary decree, elected a certain number who should be rescued from perdition, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and made partakers of heavenly happiness. They were elected, not because of any foresight of their faith or good works; but, being elected, they are endowed by the irresistible grace of God with the traits of character that make them fit for heaven. An essential pre-requisite to regeneration is the hearty approval of and assent to the Divine sovereignty in the arbitrary election of those that are to be saved, even to the extent of a willingness to be among those eternally lost, if the glory of God so require. He who is not willing to be damned is not in a salvable condition.

It will be readily seen how intimately connected are the two points on which Mr. Sherman assails Dr. Hopkins's system. Self-love must of necessity be extinguished, or reduced to an infinitesimal fragment of itself, before the soul can be willing to suffer everlasting torment.

Dr. Hopkins's earliest publication that drew the attention of theologians to his peculiar views was in 1759, namely,

three sermons entitled, "Sin, through Divine Interposition, an Advantage to the Universe, and yet no Excuse for Sin or Encouragement in it." Most of his many subsequent publications¹ were in maintenance of the ground then taken, against antagonists of the older Calvinistic school. Among these was "An Inquiry into the Nature of true Holiness," published in 1773, which is the special subject of Mr. Sherman's strictures. He had many disciples, and while among the most modest of men, without so intending, he gave his name to a sect.

For more than half a century Hopkinsianism, not only in fact, but in name, held a prominent place in New England theology. Many of the most eminent divines, for a period extending through the first quarter of the present century, were styled Hopkinsians. In Connecticut this type of dogmatic belief found special favor and prevalence, and led to several cases of local dissension and controversy, some of which had a more than local interest, and have left their record in pamphlets that had in their time an extensive circulation. In Windham County, perhaps in other counties, it was the occasion of a rupture in the Association of ministers, a minority seceding from their Hopkinsian brethren, and forming a separate organization.

The leading champion of this system was Rev. Dr. Emons, of Franklin, Massachusetts, who was unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, among his contemporaries, in conversance with the whole range of polemic theology, in dialectic skill, in keenness and subtilty as a controversialist, and in close logical consistency in admitting the most startling and repulsive inferences that could be legitimately drawn from his premises. Dying in 1840, at the age of ninety-five, he considered himself as almost the last depository of the

¹ But not all. He was a pioneer in the anti-slavery cause, and one of the earliest, so far as I know the very earliest American publication in behalf of emancipation was "A Dialogue, showing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American States to emancipate all their African Slaves," published by Dr. Hopkins, in 1776.

true faith. At his special request, his funeral sermon was prepared and read for his approval, by Rev. Thomas Williams, who, after paying this tribute to his venerable friend, regarded himself as the sole surviving Hopkinsian. In his late old age he repeatedly visited me, always with a volume of Dr. Emmons's sermons in his hand, and interspersing his portion of our conversation with extracts from the volume. He was the only person from whom I ever heard in express words the defence of the doctrine of infant damnation. But this was his favorite theme. He had braced himself up to regard it with entire complacency, and to consider it as a peculiarly resplendent manifestation of what he called the Divine glory, which, he said, would be obscured by the admission to heaven of unconverted members of a sinful race, though themselves guiltless of actual transgression.

Hopkinsianism is to be regarded as an important stage of progress from the earlier Calvinism to the new theology of Andover and New Haven. In denying the dogmas of imputed sin and imputed righteousness, and in affirming human freedom as a metaphysical certainty, it undermined the theology on which previous generations had reposed, and in its intense stress on inevitable, but abhorrent corollaries from other dogmas of that system which had not been strongly emphasized before, it led to a revision of the entire system. It is therefore to be accounted as holding a foremost place among the liberalizing influences, which have so largely modified the (so-called) orthodoxy of New England, and of those Western regions which have been colonized chiefly from New England.

Roger Sherman is so closely identified with the history of the country as to need no prolonged biographical notice. He was on the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence of which he was a signer, and afterwards served in the General Congress on several of the most important committees. He was one of the framers of the Articles of the

Confederation of 1783, and one of the most efficient members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. He was at different times Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, Treasurer of Yale College, Mayor of New Haven, and Representative and Senator in the Congress of the United States. Hardly any man ever filled so many important offices, and none certainly, with a more noble record of ability, integrity and faithfulness. He was a man of whose like a generation sees but few.

He was at the same time not only a devoutly religious man, but active in the religious movements of his time and community, an earnest inquirer into Divine truth, and a ready recipient of whatever seemed to him of Divine authority. He held for many years the office of Deacon in the church to which he belonged in New Haven.

While there is not the slightest probability that these letters to Dr. Hopkins were ever printed till now, they may have been more or less circulated in manuscript, as the fact that so eminent a layman had entered into the controversy, would naturally have aroused curiosity as to his treatment of it. In a volume of "Sermons on Important Subjects," by Andrew Lee, D.D., of Hanover (now Lisbon), Connecticut, there is a sermon on the atrocious dogma of willingness to be damned as essential to salvation, in which he carries out precisely Mr. Sherman's line of thought, shows that damnation implies wickedness no less than misery, and more than intimates that to be willing to incur such a doom is to deserve it.

The spirit of protest seems to have been transmitted in Mr. Sherman's family. Rev. John Sherman, his grandson, was the first Connecticut minister who made profession of Unitarianism, wrote the first volume ever published in this country in defence of Unitarianism, and founded the first Unitarian church in the state of New York.

ROGER SHERMAN TO SAMUEL HOPKINS.

NEW YORK, June 28, 1790.

DEAR SIR:—

I have lately read your book on the nature of true holiness and approve the sentiments, except in two points, which do not appear to me well founded, and which I think may have a bad tendency. One is on the nature of self love; the other, "that it is the duty of a person to be *willing* to give up his eternal interest for the Glory of God." I have also read a manuscript dialogue between a Calvinist and Semi-Calvinist on the latter subject, of which it is said you are the author. I have carefully attended to these subjects, and shall submit to your consideration the result of my inquiries.

I admit that *self love* as you have defined it, or selfishness in a depraved being that is destitute of true virtuous benevolence to others, is the source of moral evil. That this arises from the want of a good moral taste, or spiritual discernment, which occasions the person to place his happiness in wrong objects. But I consider self love as a natural principle which exists in beings perfectly holy, which by the moral law is made the measure of our love to our neighbor, and is therefore a principle distinct from general benevolence or love to others. I define *self love* to be a desire of one's own happiness, or a regard to one's own interest, which I think may be exercised in the highest possible degree consistent with the highest possible degree of disinterested love to others, by wishing perfect happiness to ourselves and others. I think these affections are distinct but not opposite. And in the great fountain of happiness there is a sufficiency to fill the capacities of all. You suppose that we ought to love ourselves and others in proportion to the importance of each in the scale of being in general. I was for sometime at a loss for a scale by which to ascertain the proportion of love due to ourselves or others; but I could find none short of the superlative degree, that is, to wish to each the highest possible degree of good and happiness which they are capable of enjoying, and to rejoice in the infinite happiness of the Deity.

I suppose a virtuous person feels the same kind of pleasure in the good and happiness of others, as in his own; not from any selfish views or motives, but from a disposition to be pleased with the happiness of being in general: this will incline him to refrain from everything injurious to others, and to do good to all as there may be opportunity and occasion: and his natural principle of *self love*, will dispose him to pay a due attention to his own interest. And as these affections are distinct and may consistently be exercised in the highest degree towards their respective objects, what necessity or room is there for degrees of comparison, or the subordination of one to the other? Both are subject to the law.—Beneficence or doing good to others, is not commensurate with benevolence towards them, for we ought to exercise the highest degree

of benevolence toward that being to whom our goodness or beneficence cannot extend; and the duty of extending it to others depends upon a variety of circumstances, so that much wisdom is necessary to direct in the proper application of it. On the other point, viz. "that it is the duty of a person to be willing to give up his eternal interest for the glory of God." I do not find any such thing required of any person in the divine law or in the Gospel; but it appears to me that the contrary is enjoined. I admit that persons are required to be willing to give up their temporal interest, and to lay down their lives, when the glory of God or the advancement of his kingdom in the world require it; to these all general requirements of submission to the will of God may be applied. The Old Testament Saints and Martyrs mentioned in Heb. II. endured great sufferings in the cause of religion, but they were limited to this state of trial, and they were supported in them by their faith in a future state of happiness; they considered that they had in heaven a better, and an enduring substance, but though they had respect to this recompense of reward, yet their love to God and religion was not founded in selfish principles, but they loved them for their own amiableness and intrinsic excellence; and in the exercise of this disinterested love, consisted their happiness and reward, as well as their duty. And in Heb. 12. 2. where Jesus Christ is referred to as our example, it is said "That for the joy that was set before him he endured the cross," etc. The whole tenor of the gospel appears to me to be against a person being willing to be damned on any consideration. God commands all men everywhere to repent. He also commands them to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and has assured us that all who do repent and believe shall be saved. And his voice to impenitent sinners is, not, be willing to be damned, but *Turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die?* How do I know of any direction or example in the Bible for praying for spiritual or eternal blessings, with a willingness to be denied on any consideration. But God allows his people to pray for them absolutely and has absolutely promised to bestow them on all those who are willing to accept them on the terms of the gospel, that is, in a way of free grace through the atonement. "*Ask and ye shall receive. Whosoever will, let him come and take of the waters of life freely. Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.*" But there are no such absolute promises as to the bestowment of temporal favors. It is impossible that it should be for the glory of God, or consistent with the gospel dispensation to punish with endless misery any man who has a supreme love to God, and regard for his glory, which in this case is held out as the motive to be willing to be damned. It also involves in it this absurdity, that a person ought to be willing to be fixed in a state of eternal enmity to God, from a principle of supreme love to him.

The reason why any of the human race are subjected to endless punishment, is, because they have sinned and voluntarily continue finally impenitent, which is wholly their own fault. And God has declared that he has no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn

from his way and live. Ezek. 33. 11. Is this consistent with his requiring them to be willing to continue in sin and perish forever; for none can be damned who do not persevere in sin? I admit that it is the duty of all to acknowledge that the divine law which requires us to love God with all our heart and our neighbor as ourselves, on pain of eternal damnation is holy, just and good; and I suppose that the conscience of every sinner who shall be finally condemned by the law, will witness to the justice of the sentence, and that seems to be sufficient to answer the ends of government, without his being willing to suffer the punishment. While in a state of probation sinners are required to turn and live, which appears to me inconsistent with their being required to be willing to be damned. And I believe that it is naturally impossible for any moral agent to be willing to be separated from all good, to all evil, and if so, it can't be his duty. The revealed law of God is the rule of our duty and it may be his will to suffer events to take place with respect to us, which it would be sinful in us to be willing should take place with respect to ourselves. For instance, it is the will of God to suffer the Saints during their continuance in this life to be imperfect in holiness, yet it is their duty to be perfect, nor ought they to be willing to be unholy in any respect or degree, for that would be a willingness to transgress the divine law, and would be sinful. The like might be observed respecting all the sins which ever have been, or shall be committed in the world, and God overrules all these for good, yet neither God's suffering sin to take place, or his overruling it for good, can excuse any person in the commission of sin, much less make it his duty to be willing to commit it. This is fully illustrated in your sermons on "Sin the occasion of great good!"

Mr. Calvin's comment on the words of Saint Paul, Rom. 9. 3. is quoted in support of the lawfulness of being willing to be damned; but Calvinists do not found their faith on the authority of his opinions, that would be to entertain an opinion contrary to his, viz., That the word of God is the only rule of faith in matters of religion. Expositors differ as to the meaning of those words of Saint Paul, but if they import what Mr. Calvin supposes, may they not be considered as an hyperbole which is never understood to be literally true? And the occasion on which they were spoken was only to express in strong terms the Apostle's great affection for his nation and concern for their spiritual welfare. Besides every wish of a good man is not a good wish. Moses in a like expression, Exod. 32. 32. seems not fully to have met with the divine approbation, as appears by the answer, verse 33. "And the Lord said unto Moses whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book."—Holy David was displeased because the Lord had made a breach upon Uzza. And the pious prophet Jonah was angry because the Lord spared Nineveh. And patient Job had some impatient wishes that would not be justified.

But if Mr. Glasse's exposition of Rom. 9. 3. is admitted it will remove

the difficulty, that is, that he himself once had wished anathema to Christ, etc.

It is further said in support of this opinion, that a number of mankind will eventually suffer endless punishment, and that all holy beings will approve the judgment of God therein, and that it ought to be approved by all. But can it be inferred from hence that it was the duty of those unhappy persons while in a state of probation to be willing to persevere in sin and suffer the just consequences of it? Are they not punished because they were willing to continue in sin? And does God punish his creatures for doing their duty? Or can it be inferred, that it is the duty of a person possessed of true holiness, to be willing to apostatize from his holiness, and abandon himself to wickedness and so plunge himself into endless misery.

It is said that it is necessary to be willing to be damned, if it should be God's will and for his glory, to evince that our love to God is supreme and disinterested; but would not the affection expressed, Psalm 73. 25. "Whom have I in heaven but thee and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee," etc., be a much better evidence of the sincerity and disinterestedness of our love to God, than to be willing to be forever separated from his favourable presence and fixed in a state of enmity to him for our own voluntary transgression and impenitence.

These few imperfect hints will communicate to you my idea on the subjects, and if I am mistaken I wish to be enlightened. I had not the book or manuscript before me when I wrote this, so that in my reference to them, I do not recite the words, but state the sense according to my best recollection. I am, &c.

ROGER SHERMAN.

SAMUEL HOPKINS TO ROGER SHERMAN.

NEWPORT, Aug. 2, 1790.

DEAR SIR:

I am gratified, and think myself honored by your address of the 28th of June last. I am pleased with your particular attention to the subject upon which you write, and the ingenuity manifested in what you have written. But your differing in judgment from me, and especially your thinking my sentiments may have a bad tendency, cannot be but disagreeable to me. However, as I apprehend my real sentiments are in some respects mistaken; and that what I have advanced on those points can be supported by Scripture and reason; and not doubting of your uprightness and candour, I am encouraged to write you on the subjects in dispute.

The self love which I have defined, in my tract on the nature of true holiness, and discarded, as wholly opposed, in every degree of it, to the divine law, and to that universal, disinterested benevolence, in which all holiness consists,—this self love you suppose to be a natural principle of human nature, and perfectly innocent, though exercised in the highest possible degree; and is really "subject to the law of God," as much as universal benevolence, and consequently must be a holy affection, I think. This, if I am not mistaken, is the difference between us on this point.

In support of my sentiment, and in opposition to the contrary, I take leave to propose the following considerations.

I. There cannot be any need of self love, supposing it to be an innocent affection; and it can answer no good end, where universal, disinterested benevolence is exercised in a proper degree. And there is, indeed, *no room* for the former, where the latter is perfect.

Universal benevolence extends to being in general as its object, and wishes the greatest possible happiness of the whole: And the greatest possible happiness of every individual being, capable of happiness, so far as is consistent with the greatest happiness of the whole. The benevolent person is himself the object of his universal benevolence, as really as any other being; and for the same reason that he wishes the greatest possible happiness to being in general, he wishes the greatest possible happiness to himself, as included in being in general. This is necessary; for to suppose otherwise is a direct contradiction. Love to being in general necessarily regards and wishes the greatest possible happiness to him who exercises this love. This is not, indeed, self love, which is a regard for one's self, *as self*, and as distinguished from all others, and to no other being; but it is the same disinterested affection which wishes the highest happiness to every individual, included in being in general; and therefore to himself, as necessarily included in the whole, and one among others.

What need then can there be of self love? It can do no more than wish and seek the greatest happiness of the person who exercises it: But this the reasonable and noble affection of universal, disinterested benevolence will do in the best and most perfect manner. Self love is excluded as wholly needless, at best; and there appears to be no use or room for it in the mind exercising love to the being in general. To suppose two distinct and different kinds of love exercised by the same person, at the same time, wishing and seeking the same greatest possible happiness to himself, is doubtless inconceivable, as it is monstrous and absurd. This view of the matter leads me to suspect that they who plead for self love as a useful principle, as consisting in a person's wishing his own highest possible happiness, and as distinct from universal benevolence, do really mean that regard to our particular interest which is necessarily included in universal benevolence; and which I mean by disinterested, benevolent affection; and that the difference is only in words, and if we could understand each other, we should be agreed. To prevent mistakes of this kind, I endeavored to explain what I meant by

self love, and opposite disinterested affection, in my inquiry concerning the nature of true holiness (Sec. III., IV.) But perhaps have not distinguished with sufficient clearness, and therefore have not been understood:

I agree that this universal benevolence is exercised "in the superlative degree," wishing the greatest possible happiness to the whole, and to every individual, without any "degree of comparison," *so far as is consistent with the greatest good of the whole.*

This leads to another consideration.

II. Self love, as distinguished from universal benevolence, or disinterested, public affection, cannot be a holy and innocent affection; but must oppose the latter, because it will not subordinate a person's own private interest to the general good; or give up any degree of supposable, or possible personal happiness, however inconsistent with the greatest general good.

The greatest possible good of the whole may not be consistent with the greatest possible happiness of every individual, and certainly is not; for if it were none would suffer evil; and certainly there would be no individuals miserable forever. And whenever the interest and happiness of an individual is not consistent with the greatest happiness of the whole, or an infinitely greater good than the happiness of that particular person, it is reasonable and desirable that the interest and happiness of that individual should give way, and be given up for the sake of greater general good. And universal, disinterested benevolence will do this; for it wishes and seeks the greatest good of the whole, and of individuals, so far as is consistent with this, and no further, and therefore subordinates the interest of individuals to the greater and more important general interest and happiness. But self love which desires and seeks nothing but the greatest possible happiness of himself, and has not the least regard to the happiness of the whole, or of any other being but his own self, will not subordinate his own interest and happiness to any other interest whatever; or be willing to give up any degree of his own personal interest and happiness, for the sake of the greater happiness of the public, or of any other being. Therefore this self love always opposes universal benevolence, and the latter is, in the nature of it, contrary to the former, and directly opposes and counteracts it. And so far as the latter takes place in the heart, the other is weakened and rooted out. And perfect universal benevolence is inconsistent with every degree of self love. What can be more evident than this? The consequence is, that self love is unreasonable and sinful in every degree of it and cannot be reconciled with universal benevolence.

III. Self love cannot be a holy or right affection, or agree or consist with holy affection, because it does not desire or seek, or even discern that in which real good and happiness consists; but the contrary.

If this be true of self love, and can be made evident, all must grant that it is in its own nature an evil and vicious affection, and directly opposed to universal benevolence, which discerns and seeks the only

true happiness of all, and that to the highest degree, so far as is consistent with the greatest possible happiness of the whole.

You, Sir, "Admit that self love in a depraved being, is the source of moral evil. That this arises from the want of a good moral taste, or spiritual discernment, which occasion the person to place his happiness in wrong objects."

Is it not unintelligible if not a contradiction, to say that "Self love, in a depraved being, is the source of moral evil?" Is not moral depravity moral evil? This, according to your position, must take place previous to self love becoming the source of moral evil, and in order to it. Is it not too late for self love, or anything else to be the source of moral evil, after moral evil exists in the mind, in its full strength? Besides, if the above were consistent, is it not perfectly unaccountable that self love, if it be a perfectly good and innocent affection, should be the positive, productive source or fountain of moral evil; and yet continue itself, innocent and good, in all the exercises of it?

But to drop all this, upon the above position the following questions may be asked.

Question 1. How can the mere want of a good moral taste, or spiritual discernment, occasion a person to place his happiness in wrong objects? It is easily seen that the want of a good moral taste will prevent a person placing his happiness in right objects, or those objects which are suited to make him truly happy. But actually to place his happiness in wrong objects, supposes not only the want of a good moral taste, but a positively wrong or bad moral taste. Whence arises this positive wrong moral taste, which leads a person to place his happiness in wrong objects? It cannot be the production of the want of a good moral taste; for a mere negative can produce nothing that is positive. If there be nothing wrong in self love; but it is a perfectly right and good affection in every degree of it, and in its greatest possible strength: then this cannot be the source or cause of a wrong moral taste. And if the absence or want of a right moral taste cannot be the cause of a positive wrong moral taste: from what quarter or source can this come?

Question 2. In what does a right and good moral taste consist? It must consist in self love, or in disinterested benevolence; for there is no other moral disposition or affection in the mind of a moral agent but these, or that is not implied in them. And I conceive it consists in the latter. That so far as the heart is formed to disinterested benevolence, so far it has a right moral taste, or spiritual discernment. And he who is destitute of all disposition to virtuous benevolence to others, is destitute of all right moral taste. But if self love be right and good in a moral sense, why is that destitute of all right moral taste? or why does a wrong taste, which consists in moral blindness and confusion, and places happiness in wrong objects, take place? and cloud the mind astray, where there is nothing but self love.

These questions cannot be answered to satisfaction of any one, or the subject be cleared of insuperable difficulties in any way, but by adopt-

ing the proposition above asserted, viz. : That self love does not discern, relish and seek that good in which true happiness consists; but the contrary, which is the same as to say, that it is directly opposed to all right moral taste or spiritual discernment; and is itself wrong moral taste, in which all moral blindness consists; and which necessarily excludes all true moral discernment. Therefore it knows not, nor can know, what true happiness is; but places it in wrong objects, in that in which it does not consist, and pursues it in opposition to God, and the general good; and even the real good of the person who is under the dominion of it.

That this is the truth may be argued from the nature of self love. It excludes being in general from the mind. It has no eye to see it, no true discerning of it, or feeling towards it. Therefore it excludes all regard to God, the sum of all being. It has no true idea of disinterested universal benevolence; consequently is wholly in the dark with regard to holiness, the only happiness and beauty of the moral world; and has not the least degree of taste and relish for it; but contrary. It contracts the mind down to one infinitely little, diminutive object, which is as nothing, compared with universal being; and feels as if this *little object* was all that is worthy of regard. The constant language of this affection is, "I am, and none else besides *me*." This is to love and make the greatest lie possible; and is the sum of all moral darkness and delusion. Surely such an affection excludes all perception of true enjoyment and happiness; and all desire and taste for it; and necessarily includes as essential to it, a perfectly wrong taste, and pursuit of happiness; placing it wholly in wrong objects, where it is not to be found. And who can doubt that such an affection is the epitome and source of all moral evil?

But what the Scripture reveals on this point, is more to be relied upon; and that coincides with and confirms the reasoning above. According to that, all right taste and spiritual discerning consists in love, or disinterested benevolence. "Every one that *loveth*, knoweth God. He that *loveth* not knoweth not God." (1 Joh. 4. 7, 8.) The love here intended appears from the context to be disinterested benevolence. Where this is not, it is said God is not known. Consequently there is no true taste and spiritual discerning with respect to anything in the moral world. "He that *hateth* his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, because that darkness has blinded his eyes." (Chap. 2, 11.) What is it but self love, or selfishness which *hateth* a brother? This is here asserted to be moral darkness itself; which darkness is not a mere negative thing. It is *sin*. It is a wrong, perverted taste, placing happiness in wrong, forbidden objects. It puts light for darkness, bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.

The following words of Christ, rightly considered, will be found to assert the same thing. "The light of the body is the eye; If therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness." (Mat. 6. 22, 23.)

Here all moral darkness (for it is of this that Christ is here speaking) is said to consist in the *evil eye*; which is something positive, and not merely the want of a single eye. The evil eye is an exercise and affection of the heart, and is moral evil or sin; for "From within, out of the heart of men proceeds an *evil eye*." (Mark 7. 21, 22.) And this evil eye consists in self love or selfishness, as opposed to benevolence and goodness. (See Matt. 20. 15, Deut. 15. 9, Prov. 23. 6, 28. 22.)

From all this put together, it appears that according to Scripture, self love is itself moral darkness; gives the mind a wrong taste; knows not what true happiness is; and therefore always seeks it in a wrong way, and in forbidden objects; consequently is in its nature opposed to universal benevolence; there being no more agreement between these opposite affections, than there is between light and darkness, good and evil.

IV. That self love is in its nature opposed to disinterested love or true holiness; and therefore is moral evil itself, seems to be evident, in that it appears to be the sum and source of every evil affection of the heart.

Pride is inseparable from self love; and I believe it is impossible to separate one from the other, they being the same affection; or at least the one involves the other, if there be any distinction; so that if one exists, the other exists also, and if one ceases to be exercised, the other must cease also. He who regards and loves himself only, does in this think too highly of himself; sets himself infinitely too high in his affections and feelings towards himself. Self love is the source of all the bitter envying and strife in the hearts of men; of all the contention and unrighteousness among men; and of all the opposition to God in heart and conduct. Where there is no self love, none of these things can possibly exist, nor anything that is morally wrong. This I endeavored to illustrate, and establish in the above mentioned inquiry, P. 28, 29. And I do not yet see how it can be proved not to be agreeable to the truth.

V. That self love is a wrong and sinful affection in the nature and in every degree of it, is evident, in that the holy Scripture never speaks in favor of it, but condemns it, and requires men to renounce it.

When St. Paul undertakes to give the worst character of men who should arise, he sets self love at the head; which no doubt includes all the rest: "In the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be *lovers of their own selves*," etc. (2 Tim. 3. 1, 2 etc.) If self love were a virtuous or an innocent affection, it would not be set at the head of a catalogue of the most odious and hurtful vices. Therefore the injunction is, "Let no man seek his own; but every man another's wealth." (1 Cor. 10. 24.) This does not forbid them to seek their own happiness, in any view and sense but directs them not to seek it *as their own* or in a selfish way, under the influence of self love, which seeks a person's own personal happiness, and nothing else. Therefore it is said that charity, or Christian love, "Seeketh not her own." Which is so far

this is not necessary for the glory of God. Therefore in the *first act* in which he returns and comes to Christ, he comes, not knowing that he does come, for this can be known only by reflecting on what he does, or has done. He comes to a Sovereign God and Saviour, not knowing that it is not necessary that he should perish forever, for the glory of God, and casts himself at the foot of Christ, who *has mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*; and cordially submits to this Sovereign God and Saviour, and is willing to be in his hand, not knowing but it may be most for his glory to cast him off, and not desiring to be saved, if this cannot be consistent with the glory of God; and on this supposition gives up his whole interest. This is the disposition in which the sinner comes to Christ. And as most Christians are not soon, if ever, *assured* that they are such; and none perhaps have this *assurance* at all times; they thus submit to God, to dispose of them as he sees most for his glory. And as they increase in love to God, this submission is stronger, and more sensible; though they may not think this is a being willing to give up their whole interest for the glory of God; and not know, in this respect, what manner of spirit they are of; yet this is all I mean by being willing to be cast off, if most for the glory of God. And I think it impossible to love God, and to come to Christ for salvation, without such a disposition and a cordial submission to his will, who has mercy on whom *he will* and hardens whom *he will*, while he knows not what is his will concerning him.

And such a Christian, if he attain to know he loves God, and has this submission to him, will not by this lose this disposition; but it will increase as his love to God increases; and he will more and more sensibly feel, that were it not for the glory of God, and the greatest good of his kingdom, that he should be saved, he would have no desire, on the whole, to be saved, however desirable that be, in itself considered.

I observe it is said, "There is no direction or example in the Bible for praying for spiritual or eternal blessings with a willingness to be denied, on any consideration. But God allows his people to pray for them absolutely; and has absolutely promised to bestow them on all who are willing to accept of them on the terms of the Gospel, that is, in a way of free grace through the atonement. Ask, and ye shall receive, etc."

Answer: We are certainly directed to pray for spiritual and eternal blessings, with resignation to the will of God, be that what it may; which implies, and really is, a willingness to be denied, if what we pray for be contrary to the will of God to give, and not consistent with his glory, and the general good. We must *know* that we ask for things agreeable to his will. That is, we must know that it is his will to grant them before we can ask for them absolutely, and without any condition. For if we ask *absolutely* for *anything*, when we know not that it is the will of God to give it, we set up our own will, while we know not that it is agreeable to the will of God; which must be the highest arrogance, rebellion and stubbornness.

It will be said, We know it is the will of God to give Spiritual and

and persons are required to give up their temporal interest, or ten degrees, or *one* degree of their interest, for the glory of God, and the general good, and it is contrary to the nature of universal, disinterested benevolence not to do this; then if it be equally necessary for the glory of God, etc., to give up *every degree* or the whole personal interest, it is equally reasonable to be willing to do this, and it must be *required*, and it is equally contrary to the nature of this benevolence not to do it. The glory of God and the greatest public good is an interest of infinitely more worth and importance, or an infinitely greater good, than the whole eternal interest of any individual person; and therefore when the latter interferes with the former, and consequently it is necessary that the latter should be given up to promote the former, universal benevolence will—it *must*—consent to it; and this is required, if it be required to give up any degree of personal interest, to promote the public good. This, I conceive, is as clear demonstration, as that three and two are more than two and two. This consequence cannot be avoided unless it be by denying that it ever is, or can be necessary for the glory of God, and the greatest good of his kingdom, that the whole eternal interest of any individual person should be given up and lost. But none will deny this, I presume, who believe, what is abundantly asserted in Scripture, that many of the human race will be miserable forever; for this could not take place, were it not necessary for the glory of God, and the greatest good of the whole.

It is said, this cannot be duty or required, since all are commanded to do that which is contrary to this, viz.: to repent and believe in Christ and be saved, to turn and live, etc. Answer: No repentance, believing and turning is required which is contrary to supreme love to God; and consequently seeking his glory above all things, and subordinating every other interest to this; but this love is implied and required in these commands. And if a willingness to give up a person's whole interest, if this be necessary for the glory of God, be not implied in this love, I will give up the point, and never plead for it again. A person must love himself more than God, and set his own personal interest above the interest and honor of God, and therefore not love God supremely and with all his heart, who is not willing to give up his whole interest, when necessary for the highest interest of God and his glory. And so long as he is of this disposition he will not repent, believe in Christ, or return to God.

If it be said, He knows it is not necessary for the glory of God, that his eternal interest should be given up, but the contrary; for God commands him to repent and come to Christ *for life*; and he turns and comes, that he may *live*, and not die.

Answer: His being commanded to repent, etc., is no evidence that he shall not live in impenitence, and perish, for many do so whom God commands to repent, to turn and live. And he knows not that he shall ever turn and come to Christ, until he *knows* he has actually turned and come, and therefore cannot know that he shall not be cast off, and that

this is not necessary for the glory of God. Therefore in the *first act* in which he returns and comes to Christ, he comes, not knowing that he does come, for this can be known only by reflecting on what he does, or has done. He comes to a Sovereign God and Saviour, not knowing that it is not necessary that he should perish forever, for the glory of God, and casts himself at the foot of Christ, who *has mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*; and cordially submits to this Sovereign God and Saviour, and is willing to be in his hand, not knowing but it may be most for his glory to cast him off, and not desiring to be saved, if this cannot be consistent with the glory of God; and on this supposition gives up his whole interest. This is the disposition in which the sinner comes to Christ. And as most Christians are not soon, if ever, *assured* that they are such; and none perhaps have this *assurance* at all times; they thus submit to God, to dispose of them as he sees most for his glory. And as they increase in love to God, this submission is stronger, and more sensible; though they may not think this is a being willing to give up their whole interest for the glory of God; and not know, in this respect, what manner of spirit they are of; yet this is all I mean by being willing to be cast off, if most for the glory of God. And I think it impossible to love God, and to come to Christ for salvation, without such a disposition and a cordial submission to his will, who has mercy on whom *he will* and hardens whom *he will*, while he knows not what is his will concerning him.

And such a Christian, if he attain to know he loves God, and has this submission to him, will not by this lose this disposition; but it will increase as his love to God increases; and he will more and more sensibly feel, that were it not for the glory of God, and the greatest good of his kingdom, that he should be saved, he would have no desire, on the whole, to be saved, however desirable that be, in itself considered.

I observe it is said, "There is no direction or example in the Bible for praying for spiritual or eternal blessings with a willingness to be denied, on any consideration. But God allows his people to pray for them absolutely; and has absolutely promised to bestow them on all who are willing to accept of them on the terms of the Gospel, that is, in a way of free grace through the atonement. Ask, and ye shall receive, etc."

Answer: We are certainly directed to pray for spiritual and eternal blessings, with resignation to the will of God, be that what it may; which implies, and really is, a willingness to be denied, if what we pray for be contrary to the will of God to give, and not consistent with his glory, and the general good. We must *know* that we ask for things agreeable to his will. That is, we must know that it is his will to grant them before we can ask for them absolutely, and without any condition. For if we ask *absolutely* for *anything*, when we know not that it is the will of God to give it, we set up our own will, while we know not that it is agreeable to the will of God; which must be the highest arrogance, rebellion and stubbornness.

It will be said, We know it is the will of God to give Spiritual and

eternal blessings to all who ask for them, because he has promised to do it. "Ask, and ye shall receive." Therefore we know, when we pray for those blessings, it is his will to give them; and consequently we may ask *absolutely*, not willing to be denied on any consideration; because we know that God is not willing to deny us.

Answer: All praying, and asking, is not asking in the sense of Scripture. We must *know* that we ask in truth, agreeable to the true import of direction and command, before we can know that it is the will of God to grant those blessings. But this we cannot know until we have first *asked*, if we do *then*. Therefore we must first ask before we can know it is the will of God to grant the blessings for which we ask; and therefore may not ask *absolutely*. And how few are there who *absolutely* know they have ever asked for spiritual blessings, so as to be entitled to the promise? None but assured Christians do know this. How few are they! Perhaps *not one*, at all times. From this view, I think it follows, that the prayer which entitles to saving blessings is never made *absolutely*, or without submission, not knowing whether it be the will of God to grant the things which are asked, or not; and that a person cannot know that it is the will of God to give him spiritual blessings, till he has thus *submissively* asked, and upon reflection knows that he has done it. And that, in this case, an *unsubmissive* asking is a wicked asking, which surely does not entitle to the promise. And that no person who does not know he has asked *submissively*, can know that he shall be saved, or ask saving blessings *absolutely*, without asking *wickedly*. And if he know that he has first asked *submissively*, and has obtained spiritual blessings, and so can *now* ask *absolutely*, knowing it is the will of God to save him; he can with truth say, "Lord, thou hast been pleased to give me saving blessings, and I know it is thy will, and for thy glory that I should be saved; but if this were not thy will, and for thy glory, but the contrary; salvation would not be desirable to me, in this view of it. I must say "Thy will be done." If this be not the feeling of his heart, his supposed assurance is nothing but delusion, and he has never yet asked so as to receive.

But there is a plausible, and in the view of some, an *unanswerable* objection to all this, as it implies that a person may and ought, for love to God, to be willing to be a sinner, and an enemy to God forever, if this be most for the glory of God, and the greatest happiness of his kingdom. This is thought to be contrary to the law, and all the commands of God, and in itself absurd and impossible.

If I am not much mistaken, most of the objections and arguments, if not all of them which I have seen offered against this, are founded on a mistake, or a supposition which is not true, viz. :—That to be willing to be a sinner, in this case, necessarily implies an inclination to sin, which is actually sinning, from love to God, and desire that he may be glorified, this being what God requires! If I could be convinced there were any truth in this, I should renounce the sentiment as false and dangerous. But I yet think directly the contrary to be true; and that a being willing

to be a sinner, if this were necessary for the glory of God, is itself an exercise of love and obedience to God; and not to be willing, on this supposition, would be itself an act of sin and rebellion. If the dialogue which you mention be one that I have seen, I think this point is there proved by argument which cannot be confuted.

God has revealed that it is his will that some of our neighbors should be given up to sin and ruin forever, for his glory, and the greatest good of his kingdom. It is granted that we ought to acquiesce in this, and be willing that it should take place, in as many instances, and under those particular instances which God sees will best answer his ends; that such acquiescence is implied in love to God; and therefore implies no inclination to sin, or to think favorable of it; but the contrary; and that the least disposition to object, and oppose this known will of God, would be an act of sin, and rebellion against God. And if it be as necessary that we ourselves should be given up to endless sin and ruin, in order to answer the same end, as that our neighbor should be thus given up, we must consent, and be willing, on this supposition, that this should take place, if we love God with all our hearts, and our neighbor as ourselves. And so long as we continue of this disposition, we obey the Divine law, and are friends to God and holiness; and cannot fall into sin and ruin until we give up this disposition and imbibe the contrary, and become unwilling to suffer anything for the glory of God. In this view of the matter, I think, it appears that "It does not involve any absurdity, that a person ought to be willing to be fixed in a state of eternal enmity to God, from a principle of supreme love to him," on supposition that this be necessary for his glory. This is so far from being an absurdity, that a person must cease to love God supremely, in order not to be willing, on this supposition, and actually turn an enemy to him.

You think, Sir, "It may be the will of God to suffer events to take place with respect to us, which it would be sinful in us to be willing should take place, with respect to ourselves." If the will of God respecting such events be made known to us, it cannot be sinful in us to be willing they should take place; otherwise it would be a sin for us to say, "Thy will be done," without making any condition or reserve; which I believe none will assert. On the contrary, it is our indispensable duty to submit to the known will of God, with respect to every event, be it what it may. And not to be willing it should take place, as He has willed it should, is opposition to God, and therefore an act of rebellion.

The following instance is brought to illustrate this position. "It is the will of God to suffer the Saints, during their continuance in this life, to be imperfect in holiness. Yet it is their duty to be perfect; nor ought they to be willing to be unholy in any respect or degree; for that would be a willingness to transgress the divine law, and would be sinful." I am pleased with this instance, because I think it is suited to illustrate the point in view. I grant it is the duty of Saints to be perfect in holiness; but do not think it will follow from this, that they ought not to be willing to be unholy in any respect or degree, or that such willingness would

be sinful; but the contrary. It is a holy will or choice, and not to be willing to be sinful, in this case, would be a transgression of the Divine law, and therefore sinful. It is, in itself considered, desirable to be perfectly holy in this life; and must be a duty, as their obligation to this cannot be made to cease. But it being the known will of God that they shall not be perfectly holy in this life; and therefore that it is, on the whole, wisest and best, most for his glory, and the general good, that they should be imperfect in this world; it is certainly their duty to acquiesce in this, and be willing it should be so, and say "Thy will be done." And this willingness to be imperfect and sinful, in this case, all things considered, is so far from being sinful, that it is a holy submission to the will of God; and the contrary would be opposition to the known will of God, to his glory and the general good, and therefore a transgression of the Divine law, and very sinful. It is, on the whole, all things considered, best, and most desirable that they should not be perfectly holy in this life; otherwise this would not be agreeable to the will of God. And not to be willing that should take place, which is on the whole best, most desirable, and agreeable to the will of God, is an unreasonable, wicked disposition, and directly opposed to God. And to be willing to be imperfect in this state of trial, is no part of that imperfection, nor has it any tendency to make them imperfect; but the contrary, as it is directly opposed to all sin, and is, as has been observed, a holy volition, a holy submission to the will of God.

The spirits of the just now made perfect, acquiesce in it, it is perfectly agreeable to their inclination and will, that they were imperfect in this life, and that all the redeemed should be so; and this acquiescence in the will of God, respecting this, is so far from being sinful, that it is part of their perfect holiness, and essential to it. And what reason can be given why this same disposition in the Saints in this life, is not a holy disposition? This is easily applied to the point in dispute; and I am mistaken if it do not serve to illustrate it, and obviate every objection made to a being willing to be sinful forever, on supposition this be the will of God, or most for his glory, and the greater happiness of his kingdom.

You say, Sir, "I believe that it is naturally impossible for any moral agent to be willing to be separated from all good, to all evil." I should believe this too, if I thought self love was essential to a moral Agent, and that it is right to exercise this to the highest possible degree, and wrong to suppress or counteract it in any instance. Yea, I should believe *more*. viz. :—that it is naturally impossible for a moral agent to give up the *least degree* of personal good, or suffer *any evil*, for the sake of any public good, however great. But universal disinterested benevolence will give up personal good; and be willing to suffer personal evil for the sake of a greater public good, and for the same reason that it will give up one degree of private good, for a greater public good, it will be willing to be separated from all personal good, to all evil, if necessary to promote a proportionable greater public good. And it appears to me, natu-

rally impossible, or impossible in the nature of things, that it should do otherwise, unless it be defective, or counteracted by self love.

St. Paul's wish (Rom. 9. 3.) has been an eyesore to many. They have thought themselves sure that he could not mean what his words naturally impart; consequently have set their invention to work to find out some other meaning. Most of which invented, forced meanings are, I think, so low and flat as to be unbecoming an inspired Apostle, and really cast reproach on the sacred oracles. The most plausible of these, perhaps, is that of Mr. Glass, which is wholly built on the original word, translated, *I could wish*, not being in the optative mood; but in the past tense of the indicative. But Grotius, who was skilled in the Greek above most others, says it is common for the Greeks to use a word so, when it is to be understood in the optative sense, of which there is an instance it Acts 25. 22. And Glasse's sense is so low, that it appears to me to come to very little, and to be unworthy of the Apostle Paul; and exhorts the true spirit and force of expression. The words, taken in the most easy and natural sense, in which Calvin and others have taken them, do strongly express the feeling and exercise of true benevolence, which St. Paul ought to have had, and to express on such an occasion; and which he certainly did profess in a very high degree, who sought not his own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be saved.

Calvin, I suppose, is not cited as *an authority*, but only to show the propriety of their being called *Semi-Calvinists*, who do not agree with him in this sentiment.

Wishing we may each of us be led into all important in truth, I am, Dear Sir, with high esteem, and much affection, your obliged, humble servant,

S. HOPKINS.

ROGER SHERMAN, Esq.

ROGER SHERMAN TO SAMUEL HOPKINS.

NEW HAVEN, *October*, 1790.

DEAR SIR:—

I received your letter of the 2d August last, and am obliged to you for the observations it contains. I think there is no material difference of sentiment between us except on the last point. I am not convinced by what you have wrote on that subject that my former opinion was wrong; but I don't know that I can say much more to support it than I did before.

I believe we do not differ at all in opinion respecting that general benevolence wherein true virtue consists; which you admit includes a regard to our own greatest good and happiness, and that *regard* I call an exercise of love to ourselves. When I said that self love and love to others were distinct affections, I only meant that they were exercises of

the same kind of affection towards different objects, viz., ourselves and others.

I do not fully understand the force of your observations on what I said respecting the ground or reason why self love in a being destitute of general benevolence is the source of moral evil, viz., "That this arises from the want of a good moral taste, or spiritual discernment, which *occasions* the person to place his happiness in wrong objects." You do not here distinguish between *occasion* and *positive cause* though you make a material distinction between them in your sermons on "Sin the *occasion* of great good." President Edwards I think has illustrated this point in his answer to Dr. Taylor on original sin, and in a sermon published with his life, on the enquiry, why natural men are enemies to God. He supposes original righteousness in man was a supernatural principle which was withdrawn on his first transgression, and his natural principles of agency remaining, were exercised wrong, and his affections set on wrong objects in consequence of such withdrawal. The will and affections are the powers of agency, and the exercises of them are holy or sinful, according to the objects chosen or beloved, or according as their exercises agree or disagree with the divine law. Moral good and evil consist in exercises and not in dormant principles; the heart is the seat not only of sin but of holiness according as it is differently affected. Your observations on self love in persons destitute of general benevolence are not opposed to anything I meant to express in my letter.

You say, "that love to being in general necessarily regards and wishes the greatest possible happiness to him who exercises this love, this is not indeed self love, which is a regard to one's self *as self*, and as distinguished from all others, and to no other being; but it is the same disinterested affection which wishes the highest happiness to every individual included in being in general and therefore to himself, as necessarily included in the whole, and one among others." There appears to me to be a little ambiguity in those words *as self* and what follows. I suppose that the good and happiness of *ourselves* and each individual *being* who is a proper object of happiness, is *individually* to be regarded, loved and sought as an ultimate end, or what is desirable for its own sake as a real good. "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and enjoy him forever." Therefore when a person seeks his own highest good and happiness in the enjoyment of God, and in connection with his glory, he answers the end of his creation. Those texts which you cited to prove that self love is sinful, I suppose are not to be taken absolutely to condemn all love to self, but such only as is opposed to, or unconnected with love to others, as appears from Phil. 2. 4. Look not every man on his own things but every man *also* on the things of others. *No man ever yet hated his own flesh but nourisheth it and cherisheth it.* Our own temporal as well as spiritual good may be lawfully sought and enjoyed, and our sensitive appetites gratified, so that it be not done in a manner or degree prohibited by law. "Every creature of God is good and nothing to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving, etc."

I think you use the term *self love* in the narrower sense than it is used in general by others; and when pious persons find in themselves those desires and wishes of their own good and happiness, which I consider as inseparable from a moral agent, and which you admit are lawful as flowing from general benevolence, or as a part of it, when they find *self love* condemned by that general term, it creates in their minds groundless uneasiness and doubts as to their good estate. Though perhaps a critical attention to your definition and distinctions might prevent this.

As your observations on the other point have not removed my difficulties, I will make a few remarks on that subject.

1. The glory of God and his happiness do not depend on the will of his creatures. Acts 17. 25. *Neither is worshipped by men's hands as though he needed anything.* Job 35. 7. *If thou be righteous, what givest thou him, etc.* His goodness is his glory and that is displayed or manifested in his doing good. Exod. 33. 18, 19. *And he said I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.* And he said, *I will make my goodness pass before thee, etc.*

2. None of his rational creatures are miserable but for their own fault. He inflicts punishment, not in a way of mere sovereignty, but as a righteous Judge or Governor; and for the general good. *He gathers out of his Kingdom all things that offend and do iniquity.*

3. No person who has a holy love to God, can consistent with his *will* declared in the gospel, be finally miserable; and their self denial for his glory, and all their trials and afflictions in this life work together for their best good, and work out for them an eternal weight of glory.

4. The duties of self denial and suffering in the cause of God, are compatible only to this state of trial—and the precepts which require this, appear to me to be expressly limited to suffering in this life, and eternal life is promised as an encouragement to it; therefore I see no ground to extend them by reason or analogy to the point in question. Mat. 19. 29, John 12. 25, Luke 18. 25, etc., Mark 10. 29, 30.

5. No person who is to be a subject of everlasting misery is ever willing to endure it; but it is the providential will of God to suffer them to hate him and blaspheme his name because of their torment; therefore their willingness to suffer, is not necessary for the manifestation of his glory in their punishment. And it would involve an inconsistency to suppose any person to be willing to submit to the providential will of God, in all the circumstances of his damnation, *unwillingness* to suffer and *enmity* to God on account of it, being material circumstances. You mention the third petition in the Lord's prayer, "*Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,*" as a proof that absolute submission to the will of God is a duty. I admit that God's perceptive will ought to be obeyed in all things, and his providential will submitted to as far as it is made known by revelation, or the event; but no particular person while in a state of probation can know that it is the providential will of God that he shall finally perish, but he knows that it is his perceptive will, that

he shall turn and live. And for persons who doubt of their good estate, to put it to trial by supposing a case that never can happen if they have any degree of true love to God, or if they ever comply with the requirements of the gospel; and which it is certain their hearts never will be reconciled to, if it should happen, would only tend to fill their minds with greater perplexity and disquietude. True Christians are assured, that no temptation (or trial) shall happen to them but what they shall be enabled to bear; and that the grace of Christ shall be sufficient for them; but no such gracious promise of support is made to any who shall be the subjects of damnation, therefore a willingness to suffer this, is not a trial required of a true Christian. The angels in heaven do God's will, but we have no intimation that they are required to be willing to fall from their holy and happy state.

As to your observations on the Saints' imperfections in this life, I shall only remark, that I allow that they ought to approve whatever is ordered or permitted by God concerning them as most holy and wise; but not their own conduct in being unholy or sinful in any degree.

As to the submission of the awakened humbled sinner to the divine sovereignty, I admitted that a sinner ought to approve the law of God, as holy, just and good in the threatening endless misery to sinners; but this is consistent with their hoping in his mercy. The convinced publican prayed, "*God be merciful to me, a sinner.*" I suppose that the divine sovereignty is the greatest encouragement that a convinced sinner has or can have, to hope for mercy. That a God of infinite goodness can (through the atonement) have mercy on whom he will, consistent with the honor of his law and government and of all his perfections, is a much better ground of hope, than if the sinner was left to his own will; but I don't see that this includes in it a willingness to be damned, though the convinced sinner has a sense of his just desert of damnation, yet he is invited and required to turn and live.

St. Paul's wish, Rom. 9. 3, taken literally (as translated) I think can't be vindicated.

1. Because it would have been opposite to the revealed will of God concerning him, he being a true Saint, could not be accursed from Christ.

2. It could have been of no use to his brethren—his damnation could not atone for their sins; and there was a sufficient atonement made by Jesus Christ. I think all that he intended was to express in strong terms his great affection and concern for that people and not that he did or could *really* wish damnation to himself for their sakes. Dr. Samuel Clark on the place says, "The expression is highly figurative and affectionate—But his intention was not to wish himself subject to the eternal wrath of God, which is absurd and impossible."

It still appears to me that no moral agent ever was or can be willing to be damned, and that no such thing is required by the divine law or the gospel. If a person could be willing to be forever abandoned to sin and misery, he must be so lost to any sense of good or happiness, as not to

be capable of any regard to the glory of God, or the good and happiness of the moral system; for if he could take pleasure in these, he would not be wholly deprived of happiness.

The bad tendency of this doctrine if it be not well founded, will be:—

1. To give uneasiness to pious minds who may believe it upon the authority of those whom they think more knowing than themselves, but yet they can't find their hearts reconciled to it.

2. Pious orthodox Christians who think it an error will be prejudiced against the books that contain it, however orthodox and useful in other respects, and will scruple the lawfulness of keeping them in their houses, or any way encouraging the spread of such books, lest they should be guilty of propagating dangerous errors.

3. It will give the enemies of truth occasion to speak reproachfully of the authors of such books, and prejudice the minds of people against them, and so obstruct their usefulness. Therefore I wish you to cut off occasion, from those who may seek occasion.

I am, &c.

ROGER SHERMAN.

LA SALLE'S MONUMENT AT ROUEN.

BY HAMILTON B. STAPLES.

To the list of objects abroad, of peculiar interest to an American on account of their historical association with his own country, the sculptured stone which covers the dust of Captain John Smith at St. Sepulchre's, the Raleigh window at St. Margaret's, the statue of Columbus at Genoa, there is now added another, the mural monument to La Salle at Rouen. It consists of a massive marble slab, by estimation eight feet high and nearly four wide. When I saw it, June 14, 1887, it was finished and leaned against the wall of one of the chapels on the north side of the Cathedral. Long before this, it has been permanently attached to the wall of Notre Dame—a church nearly four hundred years old when La Salle was born. I will attempt a further description of it. In the upper part there is a bronze tablet embedded in the marble, in the centre of which is a bas-relief likeness of La Salle in profile. Above the likeness is the coat-of-arms of La Salle. The likeness and coat-of-arms are set in a shell, which also affords a background. On a scroll, unrolled on each side of the shell, are the words Robert Cavelier de La Salle MDCXLIII. MD. The letters, except the last two, denote the year of his birth, while the letters MD. repeated, perhaps signify in part 1687, the year of his death, the rest of the letters being hid in the folds. The shell is supported on each side by scroll work and there are open spaces where leaves and flowers are introduced. The centre and lower part of the monument present a raised marble

surface with regular sides, in each corner of which is represented a star of eight points, and upon the face of which is the following inscription in gilded letters :

A la mémoire de
Robert Cavelier de La Salle
Baptisé à Rouen le 22 Novembre 1643
En la paroisse de Saint-Herbland
Aujourd'hui réunie à l'église-Cathédrale de Notre Dame
Anobli le 13 Mai 1675 par Louis XIV
En récompense des services rendus à son pays
Mort le 19 Mars 1687
Après avoir découvert et exploré
Les bassins de l'Ohio et du Mississippi,
Et pendant vingt années du Canada au Golfe du Mexique
Fait connaître aux sauvages de l'Amérique
La Religion Chrétienne et le nom français
Ce monument
Consacré à honorer son patriotisme et sa piété
A été érigé par les soins
De Monseigneur Thomas Archevêque de Rouen
Primat de Normandie
L'An mil huit cent quatre vingt sept.

The raised surface which contains the inscription appears to mask a bronze anchor, parts of which project from its borders, in the centre at the top a section of the stock with a ring, at the bottom the point and on each side the fluke of an anchor and the end of the stock with a ring. The anchor is usually suggestive of maritime explorations, but when we consider the extent to which La Salle prosecuted his discoveries upon the great lakes and rivers of North America and that his last great discovery of Texas was the result of a maritime adventure, we can well concede the appropriateness of the emblem. To this it may be added that no man was ever so much sustained by the hope of which an anchor is the symbol as La Salle.

Recurring to the portrait and arms of La Salle, the accessories are very appropriate. The heraldic decorations at Versailles of the time of Louis XVI. as well as the architecture and furniture of that period have for characteristic details the shell and the scroll. The panel work of the time presents a series of scrolls or a combination of scroll and shell. It is fitting that the portrait and arms of La Salle should have the same environment. The conception of this use of bronze in connection with marble is classic and deserves to be revived in commemorating one so deeply imbued with the spirit of Roman heroism. Middleton in his "Ancient Rome in 1885," referring to the remains of a decorated platform behind the rostra, says "On the marble slabs are a number of metal pins, showing that they were decorated with metal emblemata or reliefs, probably of gilt bronze."

The portrait of La Salle as here represented, must be presumed to be a veritable likeness. In the *Narrative and Critical History of North America*, Vol. 4, p. 244, there is a portrait of La Salle from a design given in Grévier which, as the note on the same page informs us, is said to be based on an engraving preserved in the *Bibliothèque de Rouen*, entitled *Cavilli de La Salle, François*. In regard to this portrait, it may be observed, first, that it represents a much older person than La Salle was at the time of his death—and second, that it does not express the qualities of mind and of character which must have been stamped on the countenance of La Salle. The face, benign and irresolute, cannot be that of La Salle. The mobility and fulness of outline of the features are inconsistent with the historic conception of the man.

In the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. 8, part 1, in connection with an article by Grévier upon La Salle, there is an engraving of him and below are the words "After a photograph of the original painting." This painting is justly regarded as in a sense imaginary. It represents a

person of the age of La Salle, but not with the face or features that must have characterized him. The face is too handsome and pleasure-loving. It is a face unfurrowed by care and disappointment, untried by misfortune, unhardened by treachery. The likeness on the monument, however, corresponds to the historical conception of La Salle in age and character. It is here presented to the world under the auspices and on the responsibility of the Archbishop of Rouen, the Primate of Normandy. It cannot be supposed that any pains would be spared to obtain the most veritable likeness of La Salle extant. The engraving at Rouen cannot have escaped notice. The internal evidence, too, in its favor is very strong. By the portrait we are able to recognize the man: his adamant resolution, his dauntless courage, his haughty, intractable temper, his severe self-repression, his boundless ambition all are here discernible. We can discover a trace of the melancholy which preyed upon him in his last years, when scheme after scheme for profiting by his discoveries had failed, and he was threatened with irretrievable ruin. This is one of the rare cases where a profile is more satisfactory than the front face. Fairhold says that "a face which seen directly in front is attractive by its rounded outline, blooming color, and lovely smile, is often divested of these charms when seen in profile, and strikes only so far as it has an intellectual expression. Only where great symmetry exists connected with a preponderance of the intellectual over the sensual, will a profile appear finer than the front face." I cannot ascertain from what source the Archbishop derived the arms of La Salle, but under the circumstances they must be regarded as authentic. The shield may be briefly described in terms of heraldry, the field gules or red indicated by parallel lines drawn in pale, in chief a star argent, in base a dog courant argent. The Achievement is ensigned with the helmet in profile with the visor closed, invariably assigned to baronets, knights and esquires. This coat-of-

arms was probably assumed at the time he was ennobled by Louis XIV., May 13, 1675. This was after the discovery of the Ohio river, but before the erection of the fort and village of Frontenac, and the voyage down the Mississippi. He had at this time determined to devote his life to the discovery of a passage from the Great Lakes to the South Sea, the pathway to the East and its unlimited trade. He had also formed a scheme for the diversion of the fur trade from the English to the French by a series of forts beginning at Niagara. In the light of these projects, there is something very bright and prophetic in the device upon the shield. The dog in heraldry is the emblem of loyalty and fidelity, and this sentiment animated him in seeking to extend the dominion of France and to secure for it the trade of these vast regions. The dog, too, was a fit emblem of his life, a life of tireless pursuit, of exploration, of finding new "paths to dwell in." The star on the shield of eight points, a rare but permitted number, is suggestive of the heaven-inspired faith and zeal which supported him in a life of trials such as few have had to endure, of a purpose perhaps to penetrate regions where the stars would be his only guide, of an identification of himself in some blind fashion with the course of empire, perhaps dimly revealed to him in the strange solitudes of the West. It is a very singular coincidence that the State of Texas which he discovered on his last expedition should have adopted a single star as the device of its seal and flag.

The inscription on the monument claims more for La Salle in one particular than can be fairly conceded. It recounts that he discovered and explored the basins of the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers. This is virtually a claim that he discovered both rivers and the portion of country drained by them and their smaller tributaries. This claim requires modification. De Soto is accredited with having discovered the Mississippi river early in 1541. June 17, 1673, Marquette and Joliet, having descended the

Wisconsin reached the Mississippi river and explored it as far down as the mouth of the Arkansas river. In 1680, Hennepin explored the Illinois river and the upper Mississippi, but that he explored the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf, as he afterwards claimed, is not believed by reliable historians. As to the work of La Salle, it may be regarded as established that he discovered and explored the Ohio river, that he first explored the Mississippi from the mouth of the Arkansas to the Gulf, that he first discovered the mouths of the Mississippi and first took formal political possession of the vast region extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains in the name of the French King. While the inscription thus fails in entire accuracy it is nevertheless in the main true, a noble and impressive summary of a great life, in its objective aspects and results. On the subjective side it falls far short of giving an adequate impression of the qualities and characteristics of the man himself. Of this interior picture, an American historian has given us the form and lineaments. Of course I allude to Mr. Parkman's *La Salle*, a memorial to the great explorer destined to outlive bronze and marble.

To an assembly of scholars in the country which owes so much to La Salle, it is not just to think of him only as an explorer. He was, in fact, a statesman as well. In the first place, he anticipated the development of international law in adopting the principle that a title by discovery needs to be perfected by actual occupation. In the next place, he first conceived the idea of the commercial value of the Mississippi, and its indispensable importance to the growth and development of the great West. This idea, fully comprehended by Jefferson and John Quincy Adams, led to the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States by the treaty of April 30, 1803. Thus the Great Republic entered into his self-sacrificing labors. His original project was to ascertain whether the river which he supposed to be but the

continuation of the Ohio, emptied into the Atlantic Ocean, or the Gulf of Mexico, or the Gulf of California. His own opinion was that it discharged into the South Sea and thus would open a passage to the East. When he had satisfied himself that the river discharged into the Gulf of Mexico, he ceased to be a visionary and became a statesman. He saw that this and not the route through Canada was the destined route for the trade likely to spring up from the settlement of the great West. He therefore proposed to effect a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi river and there to construct forts to guard its entrance. He had already established his colony on the Illinois river, erected there Fort St. Louis and begun to form the vast confederacy of the Indian tribes by which it was hoped to consolidate the power of France, to attract thither, as to a vast emporium, the fur trade of all that great region of which the Mississippi was the outlet to the sea, and to furnish a military force for the conquest of the silver mines of Mexico. Was there ever a more magnificent dream of empire than that which comprised as an outlying domain of France, Canada, the Great Lakes and the region whereof La Salle took possession in the name of the French King? In the language of Parkman, "America owes him an enduring memory, for in this masculine figure she sees the pioneer who guided her to the possession of her richest heritage."

THE SITE OF THE FIRST COLLEGE BUILDING AT
CAMBRIDGE.

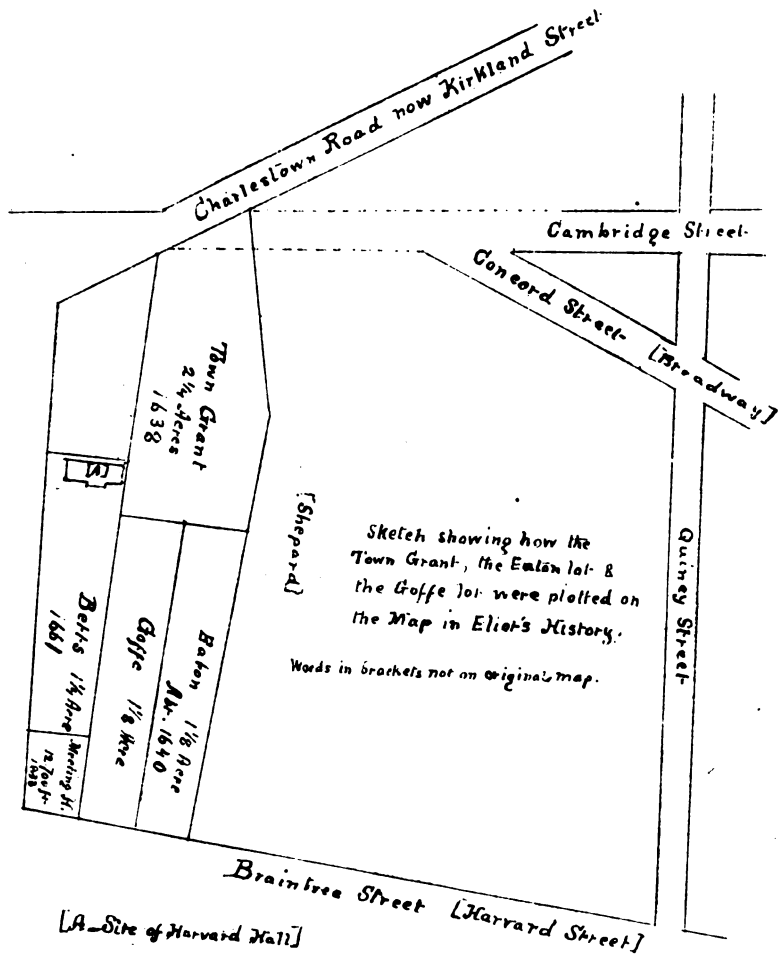
BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

It is a singular fact that knowledge of the exact site of the first college building has been lost. We know where Governor Dudley's house stood; a tablet marks the spot where Stephen Daye lived; knowledge has been preserved of the sites of the first meeting-house and the first school-house in Cambridge, but when we come to the first college building, by far the most interesting building to the historian and antiquary that has ever been erected in Cambridge, we cannot positively state that the spot where it stood is to be found within the limits of the present college yard. The probability that this was so is great and almost amounts to a certainty. If we can fix the title to any portion of the land which now constitutes the college yard, in the name of the college in 1638, it is to that spot we should direct our search for traces of the lost building.

The early records of Cambridge are contained in two volumes respectively devoted to "Town" and "Proprietary" records. The proprietary records do not mention any grant or title which can be construed as directly lodged in the college in 1638, but in the town records, in a list of the grants which had been made at that time out of the Ox pasture, mention is made of two and two-thirds acres to "the Professor" for a school or college. So far as is known this grant was the only one at that date through which title to any land had been given to the college. Do these two and two-thirds acres constitute a part of the college yard?

In 1848, Samuel A. Eliot published a history of Harvard College. An attempt was made at that time to trace back the titles of the several lots which make up the college yard, and a map was appended to the publication, on which the approximate boundaries of the lots as originally granted were indicated. The history of some of these lots was sufficiently well known to disclose their situation and their boundaries with reasonable certainty. These having been identified, the location of other lots concerning which less was known, was determined with approximate accuracy. The plotting of these boundaries left a lot of two and a quarter acres on the plan, which fronted on Kirkland street, or the old Charlestown highway. This lot extended back to the middle of the quadrangle and comprehended within its bounds a portion of the present Cambridge street. The grant of two and two-thirds acres to the professor, which has been already alluded to, was accepted by the maker of the map as the probable source of title for this lot. The author of the history says: "The appropriation of two and two-thirds acres to the school appears on the plan reduced to two and a quarter acres; and it must be regarded as a pretty close approximation, considering the vagueness of the description given of so many of the adjoining lots, the prevailing inaccuracy of measurement in those days (before land was sold by the square foot and before square inches had become appreciable), and making allowance for the quantity which has been taken by public authority for widening the streets, which in the seventeenth century were merely lanes."

If this identification with the lot on the plan, of the grant to the professor in 1638, is correct, it is of great importance in connection with our search for the site of the original building, because in that event we have established the location of a lot, the title to which was in the college in 1638 and has remained in its unbroken possession until to-day. Moreover this grant furnished the only title, so far as



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is known, that the college then had to land in Cambridge. Let us examine the premises on which the identification rests. If they are incorrect, then the preference which would be given to this particular lot will be correspondingly diminished.

To ascertain whether the grant of two and two-thirds acres can properly be located in the college yard we must have recourse to the original grants. We find in the town records the following entry: "1638. Md. It is agreed that the old ox pasture that lieth [two or three words gone] the way to Charlestowne, shall have the other part on the North side of the path added to it and impropriated to some of the purchasers and others that it now stands in manner hereunder written."

Then follow two lists of grants in separate columns headed respectively "The North Side" and "On the South side of the Path." In the column headed "The North Side" is this entry: "The Professor $2\frac{2}{3}$." In the column headed "On the South side of the Path" this entry appears: "Mr. Eaton $\frac{2}{5}$." It is not important what the missing words in the heading were, but it is not improbable that the sentence if filled out would read, "the old ox pasture that lieth on both sides the way to Charlestowne." There is no doubt, however, that the record shows that "The Professor" had $2\frac{2}{3}$ acres granted him on "the North Side," and that Mr. Eaton had 2 acres 2 roods granted him "on the South side of the Path."

The following entry describes more particularly the intent of the town in making the grant to the Professor.

"Md. The 2 acres and $\frac{2}{3}$ above mentioned to the Professor is to the Town's use forever for a public school or College; and to the use of Mr. Nath. Eaton as long as he shall be employed in that work; so that at his death or ceasing from that work he or his shall be allowed according to the charges he hath been at in building or fencing."

An analysis of this record shows that, while the grant is

plainly enough to the College for a public use, the identification with the two and one-quarter acres of the plan fails. The grant is on the north side, while the lot is on the south side of the Charlestown path or way.

There can be no reconciliation of this difference in the descriptions of the two lots unless it shall appear that the identification of Kirkland street with the Charlestown highway is a mistake, or that the location of the Charlestown highway was, during the period under discussion, changed to the northward, so that lots which in 1638 were properly described as on the north side, were at a later date to be found upon the south side of the highway. There will be no occasion to examine these two questions separately. The discussion of the second proposition will practically carry us over grounds which will enable us to determine the first.

At the outset, the suggestion that the Charlestown highway may have been moved to the northward, thus affecting the descriptions of the lots in their relation to the highway, seems improbable, but a moment's reflection will show that it is entitled to consideration. When Braintree street was laid out, several lots which are now included within the College yard, each containing a fraction of an acre, were granted as house lots. These lots faced to the southward on Braintree street, and ran through to a lane in the rear called Cow Yard Lane, which evidently must have been parallel to Braintree street. Each of these house lots carried with it an acre of land on the north side of Cow Yard Lane, granted out of the Ox pasture, on which, according to the descriptions in the records, stood the barns and out-buildings belonging to the several house lots. The lines of these lots nearly coincided with the cardinal points of compass, and these points alone are mentioned in the descriptions in 1642, although in 1638 in the first record that we have of the lots, they are spoken of as if the sides ran N. W. to S. E. and N. E. to S. W. It will be easily understood that a series of lots each containing with the lot in the rear an

acre and a fraction of an acre, must, in order to secure the amount of land represented in the grants, have extended back into what now constitutes the college yard, so as to include nearly one-half the present quadrangle. In 1638, the descriptions of the house lots and of the acre lots in the rear show that the two classes of lots were separated by Cow Yard Lane. In 1642, no mention of the lane is made in the descriptions, but the house lots and the acre lots in the rear are described as if they were united. Cow Yard Lane has between these dates entirely disappeared. In a similar way Field Lane, another lane within the limits of the College Yard which is mentioned in some of the early descriptions, subsequently disappeared. If these lanes could be appropriated by the owners of adjoining lots, it would, of course, have been an easy matter to move the Charlestown highway to the northward to suit the convenience of those who owned lots in the Ox pasture.

There is a curious phrase used, in 1638, in the description of a lot belonging to Edward Goffe, which at first sight seems to carry with it the idea that the highway must have been so moved. In this description, Goffe's lot is bounded on the Northwest—or, correcting the point of compass to correspond with a later description—on the North, by Cow Yard Lane and “the common gate likewise to Charlestowne.” Goffe's house lot contained but half a rood, but he had the full acre lot in the rear which went with these Braintree street lots. His rear lot was probably carved out of the Ox pasture by continuing the side lines of the Braintree street lot to the northward until they comprehended between them the necessary amount of land. Between the house lot and the acre lot was Cow Yard Lane. There is no probability that the north line of this house lot actually abutted against the gate to the Charlestown highway. This gate could not have opened into Goffe's rear lot. It could not have opened into Cow Yard Lane. In either of these cases the highway would have been recog-

nized in the descriptions. The phrase can only mean that the gate to the Charlestown highway was sufficiently near the north line of the house lot to furnish a land-mark, and the circumstances of the case require that it should have been to the westward of the lot. The grants of the several Braintree-street lots with their acre lots in the rear determine the primary direction of the road which was entered by the Common gate. If it had borne to the eastward at once it must have intersected these lots. It must, therefore, at first have taken a northerly direction through the Common in order to avoid them, and this direction must have been maintained long enough to avoid other lots which had been granted out of the Ox pasture, which were described as having their northern boundaries on the Charlestown highway and which must have been to the north of the acre lots. From all this, it would seem that the Charlestown highway and the route through the Common which led to it, may be traced through modern landmarks somewhat as follows: Goffe's house lot was near where Harvard street becomes Harvard Square. Adjacent to, or near the northwest corner of the lot, was the gate through which entrance was effected to the Common. Through this "Common gate" those who wished to go to Charlestown passed, and, skirting the lots which had been granted out of the Ox pasture, they proceeded in a northerly direction until they reached the highway. In seeking to identify this highway we must look for some old street which will take us to Charlestown neck. Kirkland street fulfils the necessary conditions. It starts at the Common, it leads towards the Neck, and it is put down on plans of a later date as the Charlestown highway. The rudeness of the descriptions of these early grants compels a corresponding looseness of language in discussing their interpretation. Bearing this in mind, the identification of Kirkland street with the Charlestown highway of the records may be accepted as probably correct. Further, it does not seem probable that

there was any change in the location of the highway which would enable us to reconcile the difference in the descriptions of the grant and the lot.

It may be contended that there is an error in the heading "The North Side," or in the entry of the grant under that heading. The person who plotted the map in Eliot's history, apparently did not look for the grant on the north side of the highway, and there was no other allusion in the town or college records to attract his attention to property in that vicinity standing at that time in the name of the college. It might, perhaps, be considered a complete answer to this suggestion of a possible error in the heading or entry, that these lists were prepared for the express purpose of classifying the lots according as they were either to the north or to the south of the highway, and for that reason alone were likely to be correct. We are not, however, limited to this list for proof that the college was actually in possession of a lot on the north side of the highway in 1639 and in 1642.

In 1639 Richard Jackson bought an acre of land in the Ox pasture, which was described in the Proprietary records as north of "the College lot," and which abutted on land of Nathaniel Sparrowhawk to the north. In 1642 the boundaries of this lot are similarly described, except that Sparrowhawk then owned also to the east. There is no reference here to the Charlestown highway, but the fact that Jackson's lot was to the north of the college lot cuts off any attempt at identification with the lot of two and one-quarter acres, the northern boundary of which was the Charlestown highway. It will be observed that Jackson's lot abutted on land of Sparrowhawk. By means of the description of Sparrowhawk's land we are enabled to show that these lots were all on the north side of the Charlestown highway. This description is found in the list of property in 1642, from which it appears that Nathaniel Sparrowhawk then had a dwelling-house and lot north of the Charlestown highway.

From an examination of the boundaries we learn that there was "College land" and land of Richard Jackson on the west, and on the north "land of his own."

Thus we have the original grant in 1638 of land to the college north of the highway; evidence of ownership in 1639, through the description of Richard Jackson's lot, and evidence of continued ownership in 1642, through the descriptions of the Jackson and the Sparrowhawk lots.

It forms no part of my purpose to trace the title of the college land which was situated north of the Charlestown highway. It is evident, however, that in 1638 a grant was made to the college from that portion of the Ox pasture north of the highway, and that in 1642 the college still owned it. Ought we to look for the site of the first college building on this grant? I think not. All the traditions of the college point to the college yard as the home of the college from the time of its birth. If the building had stood outside the present yard knowledge of its site would have been preserved. Moreover, Hubbard tells us that the new building, subscriptions for the erection of which were begun in 1672, stood "not far from" the first building. The foundations of the present "Harvard Hall" are on the exact site of Hubbard's new building, and, although his language is vague, it would point to some spot near at hand in the college yard, rather than to a site on a different lot separated by an intervening public way. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the site of the first college building than on the two and two-thirds acres, the title to which was lodged in the college in 1638.

The identification by Eliot of the grant and the lot having been rejected, what are the claims of the two and one-quarter acres for special consideration in our search for the site of the first College building? We can easily show that the lot was in possession of the College in 1642, but prior to that date we find no record of ownership. In the Town records, we have seen that at the same time that the grant of

two and two-thirds acres on the north side of the Charlestown highway was made to the Professor, a grant of two acres and two roods on the south side of the Charlestown highway was made to Eaton. The close relation in size that this latter grant bears to the lot under discussion, combined with the intimate manner in which Eaton's affairs were intermingled with those of the College are to say the least suggestive. There is still another grant to Eaton in this list, but as it was for four acres and the land was situated on the north side of the Charlestown highway it does not seem probable that it has any bearing on the subject.

I have said that we can easily show that the College was in possession of this lot of two and one-quarter acres in 1642. At that date, the Proprietary Records show that Thomas Shepard held lands in the Ox pasture, south of the highway to Charlestown and east of "Land intended for the College." The lots of Edward Goffe, and John Betts, the former on Braintree street, and the latter on the east side of the Common, both adjoined "land intended for the College." The boundaries of these lots help us in approximately identifying the site of the land "intended for"—that is to say—set apart for the use of the College. It can only be the two and one-quarter acres on Eliot's plan which he identifies as the two and two-thirds acres granted to the School. The peculiar language used in the descriptions would indicate that this land had been specially assigned to the College. The manifest meaning of the phrase "intended for the College" is, "set apart for the use of the College." We have found no other lot standing in the name of the College prior to 1642 than the one north of the highway. The question naturally suggests itself was the grant to Eaton of two acres and two roods south of the highway a grant to the College? Or, if not in itself an original grant, is it possible that the College derived title in any way through him? We know that when he was removed from office his affairs were put in the hands of a

Commission,¹ and that special instructions were given by the General Court² the apparent purpose of which was to protect the interests of the College which were inextricably involved in his personal affairs. If this was the lot granted to Eaton then the transfer to the College in the adjustment of his affairs was possible and the only objection to its selection as a probable site for the building would be that in 1638 the title was not in the College.

Whatever the explanation of the foregoing facts may be, this at least is certain—the claim of the lot of two and one-quarter acres for especial consideration on the ground that it was the only lot owned by the College in 1638 can no longer be put forth. If the title did not come through Eaton then we have no evidence, direct or indirect, of ownership prior to 1642 when we find it mentioned as “intended for the College.” If title is derived through the grant of two acres and two roods to Eaton then the conditions compel us to admit in the competition one other lot which in 1638 was in Eaton’s name and which in 1642 was known as College land. The two lots stand upon the same basis whether the claim be made that the grant to Eaton was in reality a grant to the College or whether the College derived title through the adjustment of Eaton’s affairs after his departure.

In 1638, Edward Goffe’s house lot on Braintree street was described in the Proprietary Records as bounded on the east by a lot in the name of Eaton, the language used being “Mr. Eaton on the South East, Brayntry street South West.” The acre lot in the rear also had “Mr. Eaton South East.” In 1642, the house lot and acre lot in the rear are described as one lot, bounded on the East by “the College” and on the North by “land intended for the College.” At the same date John Betts had an acre of land West of the Goffe lot and South of “land intended for the

¹ Winthrop, I., 312.

² Mass. Col. Records, I., 282.

College.”¹ The same record shows that Thomas Shepard was the owner of a lot on Braintree street which was bounded on the West by “the College” and that he owned four and a half acres in the Ox pasture which were bounded on the north by the Charlestown highway and had on the west “Land intended for the College.” Shepard therefore owned at that time about six acres in what is now the College yard. His land was bounded on the north by the Charlestown highway, on the south by Braintree street and on the west by College land which extended from Braintree street through to the Charlestown highway. This College land was composed of two parcels, the Braintree-street lot which in 1638 was described as Eaton’s and the lot bounded on the Charlestown highway defined as “land intended for the College.” To the West of the College Braintree-street lot was Goffe’s lot, which was bounded on the north by the “land intended for the College.” The “land intended for College” was the two and one-quarter acres identified by Eliot with the original grant of 1638.

The lot between Goffe’s and Shepard’s is the one which I have said stands upon the same footing as the two and one-quarter acre lot in the plan, as far as title goes, in its claims to recognition as a competitor for the site of the building. The title is in Eaton’s name in 1638. The lot is entirely within the college yard. It abuts against the two and one-quarter acre lot in the rear, and thus is on equal terms, not only in respect to title, but also in regard to the application of Hubbard’s description.

In this connection it may be worth our while to note certain peculiarities in the use of language in the records, in referring to the several lots which were in possession of the college in 1642.

¹ On the map in Eliot’s history the Betts lot is bounded on the north by land of Sweetman, and in the description, p. 189, the lot is said to have been bounded by “Sweetman on the North, and land of the College on the East.” If this description was taken from the records, it must have been from a later return than that of 1642.

It will be observed that, in the description of Shepard's and Goffe's lots, it is "the College" which is to the east or to the west of the respective lots. It will be readily admitted, by those who contend that there is some significance in this use of the word, that even if the college building was referred to as "the College," the building itself could not have covered the whole lot. The equivalent of the phrase to such believers would be "the land on which the College building stands." This being admitted—the right to suggest that the phrase means only in general terms "College land," must be allowed to those who contend that the college building stood elsewhere. While the full force of this argument is freely granted, it must be remembered that the Shepard lot and the Goffe lot are the only lots described as abutting on "the College."

In the several descriptions of other lots bordering on college land, which have been referred to, this specific phrase does not occur. The lot of two and one-quarter acres is referred to as "College land," or as "land intended for the College." The college land adjoining Richard Jackson's lot on the north side of the Charlestown highway is spoken of in the description of Jackson's lot in 1639, as the "College lot," while in 1642 it is "College land." In 1639 the grant of two and two-thirds acres was the only grant which had then been made directly to the college in this part of Cambridge. It was, therefore, natural to refer to it as the "College lot," even if the building was elsewhere. In 1642 the college owned other land in the immediate vicinity, and the lot north of the Charlestown highway is no longer spoken of as "the College lot."

No conclusive deductions can be drawn from the language used in these descriptions, but if any inference whatever is to be made, it favors the Braintree street lot as the site of the building.

The facts bearing upon the question, which have already been cited, are all taken from the town and proprietary

records. We have one other place to which we can turn for information. College Book No. III. is not a book of original entry, but is a collection of transcripts from other records, and of copies of important papers and documents. The handwriting in which these entries are made is identified by Quincy as that of Thomas Danforth. Danforth was appointed Clerk of the Overseers in 1654, and it is evident that the necessity for making some systematic effort to preserve copies of the more important papers of the college impressed itself upon him very soon after entering upon the duties of his office. At all events there is no reason to doubt that we are indebted to him for all the earlier records in College Book No. III. Danforth spent his boyhood in Cambridge, and although but a youth when the college building was erected, the events connected with the early history of the college had taken place within the period comprehended by his memory. He prefaces the copy of Nathaniel Eaton's account of expenditures upon the college, which is entered in College Book No. III., with the following heading :

“Mr. Nathaniel Eaton was chosen Professor of the said school in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, to whose care the management of the donations before mentioned were intrusted, for the erecting of such edifices as were meet and necessary for a college and for his own lodgings, &c.”

Taking the statement that Eaton was authorized to erect “such edifices as were meet and necessary for a college and for his own lodgings,” in connection with the memorandum explanatory of the grant of 1638, according to which, “at his [Eaton's] death or ceasing to work, he or his” were to be allowed “according to the charges” they had been at “in building or fencing,” the intention is evident to provide Eaton a home on the college property. The author of an article entitled “The First President of Harvard College,”¹

¹ Timothy Farrar.

printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. IX., p. 270, speaks of Eaton's house, "near the college in 1639," and refers to the *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, Vol. I., p. 282, for his authority. An examination of this reference will show that there was nothing in the record as to the position of the house. The language of the record is, "Thomas Symonds was enjoined to appear at the Quarter Court about Mr. Eaton's house and the College." Eaton's house is again referred to in the fragmentary record quoted by Savage in the note in *Winthrop's New England*, Vol. I., p. 310, which is supposed to be Mrs. Eaton's testimony as to the food furnished Eaton's pupils, but there is nothing in the testimony which helps us in determining the situation or character of the house.

The series of facts just recited suggest the possibility that the house, towards the erection of which Eaton was authorized to use college funds, and concerning which, after Eaton's flight, Thomas Symonds was enjoined to appear before the Quarter Court, may have been built on the Braintree-street lot which, in 1638, was in Eaton's name. If this lot was Eaton's house lot, it is evident that the college building would not have been put there.

The several statements which have led up to this suggestion are not, when taken separately, of much importance in determining the site of the first college building.

They are, however, entitled to examination, and it will not be amiss to note certain patent facts in connection with them which may influence our conclusions.

In the first place as to the use of the college funds in building the house. Eaton was appointed in 1637 and was removed in September, 1639. He did not handle any part of the appropriation made by the General Court in 1636. That appropriation stood to the credit of the college in 1644 in the account rendered by County Treasurer Tyng.¹ We are not able to trace any money into the college treasury

¹ College Book No. I., quoted in Quincy, Vol. I., p. 455.

prior to the death of John Harvard. Eaton in his accounts charges himself with £200 received from Harvard's administrator and accounts for its expenditure on the college building.¹ It is probable that Eaton was in possession of his house and that his school was in operation before he received any part of this money.

Second. As to the right to build on land belonging to the college. This privilege was limited by its terms to the grant of 1638. If an allowance was to be made to him or his heirs for improvements on other lots in case of death or removal, no mention is made of it in the records.

Third. As to the intervention of the General Court. The only inference to be drawn from this as to the situation of Eaton's house, is that Eaton's house was not on the college land, for if it had been, the college would have needed no protection.

Finally, on the general question whether the Braintree-street lot was Eaton's house lot, the proprietary records furnish an independent answer. In 1638 there was granted to Nathaniel Eaton "in the old ox pasture two acres for a house lot." This lot was described as follows: "By the ox pasture East, a town lot South, Richard Jackson, North, Cow common, West." This is evidently not the Braintree-street lot.

The language of the inventory of the college estate in the year 1654, as given in the copy entered in College book No. III., comes nearer being a direct statement as to the site of the first college building, than any of the descriptive phrases from the records which have been heretofore quoted. At that date the college was the owner of a house lot situated

¹ Quincy publishes Eaton's account, Vol. I., p. 453. Winthrop gives the following account of the steps taken after Eaton's flight: "Being thus gone his creditors began to complain; and thereupon it was found, that he was run in debt about £1,000, and had taken up most of this money upon bills he had charged in England upon his brother's agents, and others whom he had no such relation to. So his estate was seized and put into commissioners hands to be divided among his creditors, allowing somewhat for the present maintenance of his wife and children."—Winthrop's New England, Vol. I., p. 312. The omission of any reference to the appropriation of College funds is noticeable.

on the southwest corner of the streets now known as Harvard and Holyoke streets. The lot is to-day covered by the building known as the Holyoke House. It is described in the inventory of 1654 as follows:

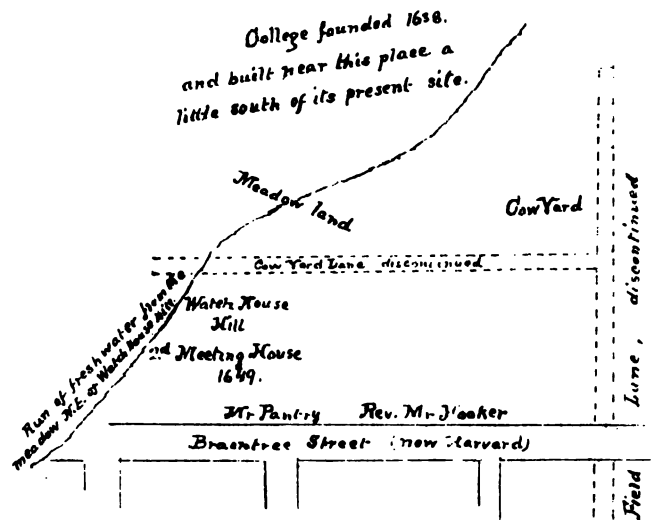
"Item. A small piece of land lying before the College and was formerly the house lot of Robert Bradish." If, in our endeavor to give weight to all the arguments against the Braintree-street lot, we grant that there was no special significance in the fact that the lots to the east and west of it were described as abutting on "the College;" if we admit that wherever the word "College" is thus used in the description "College land" is meant, and further that there is no inference to be drawn from the fact that the use of this peculiar language is confined to this lot; still we shall have to furnish some reason for abandoning the natural interpretation of the phrase "lying before the College" which is used in the inventory. If the college building stood upon the Braintree-street lot, facing Braintree street, the Bradish lot lay before it. Thus situated the new building which was first occupied in 1677 might well be described by Hubbard as being not far from the old one. The two sites were within the same enclosure, so that communication between them could be had without going off the college land, and they were but a short distance apart.¹

¹ Charles Deane, LL.D., possesses a tracing of a map entitled as follows: "Plan of Cambridge adapted to the year 1635 by James Winthrop, January, 1801. Used by Rev. A. Holmes, D.D., for history of Cambridge." On this map the following words are written "College founded 1638 and built near this place a little South of its present site." A reasonable interpretation of this language would throw the site within the limits of the Braintree-street lot. It is unfortunate that Mr. Winthrop did not give his authority for the statement.

I wish to acknowledge my obligations to Dr. Deane for the privilege of inspecting this map and for the patient interest he has taken in my investigation of this subject.

The lot marked Pantry on this map is the Eaton lot. The first record that we have of the lot, it stood in the name of "William Peyntree" and was described as follows: "in the town, one house with backside, and garden about half a rood."

"More in Cow Yard Row, one cow house with a backside, about one acre; Thomas Hooker South East, Cow Yard Lane South West, James Olmstead North West, the Common pales North East."



Sketch showing Cow Yard Lane and Field Lane
as represented on a
Plan of Cambridge.
adapted to the year 1635.
By James Winthrop, January 1801.

11

To sum up then. The college building did not stand upon the lot granted in 1638, because that lot was north of Charlestown highway. The Charlestown highway can not reasonably be supposed to have been moved to the north between 1638 and 1642, so as to make the grant in 1638 of land north of the highway in 1638 south of the changed road in 1642, because the grants south of the road, already made in 1638, require that the road should be at least as far north as Kirkland street. The two and two-thirds acres granted at that time are not to be confounded with the two and one-quarter acres with which Eliot identifies them, because they are on different sides of the Charlestown highway. If the two and one-quarter acre lot on Eliot's plan can not be identified with the two and two-thirds acre grant, then the argument that the college building should be found there because it was the only lot owned by the college at that time falls to the ground; and, whether title be claimed through Eaton or not, the college ownership can not be traced farther back than the college ownership of the Braintree-street lot. If title to both of them be traced through Eaton, then both stand on the same ground. To offset the suggestion that inasmuch as the title to the Braintree street lot was in Eaton's name in 1638, his house may have stood there, we can only rely, first, upon the fact that he had a lot granted him elsewhere which was specifically designated as a house lot, and, second, on the weight which attaches to the peculiar language used in the descriptions and in the Inventory, when mention is made of the Braintree street lot. The Goffe lot on Braintree street adjoined "the College" on one side; the Shepard lot on Braintree street adjoined "the College" on the other side. Both these lots are comprehended within the college yard, and their situation is known with approximate accuracy. The Bradish lot "lay before the College." The situation of this lot is known with absolute certainty. If descriptive language means anything, the site of the first college building at Cambridge

ought to be found within the lines of the lot marked Eaton on the plan in Eliot's History of Harvard College. Perhaps the eastern part of the Wadsworth house may cover a portion of the old foundation. Perhaps a part of Gray may overlap the spot where the old building stood. The limits of the lot would even permit that the building should have stood within the present Quadrangle. As the Inventory of 1654 records, with scrupulous minuteness, the fact that the building had a cellar, it is not unlikely that systematic search might reveal the site, unless subsequent excavations have obliterated the traces which the searchers would naturally hope to find. It is not impossible that more direct evidence as to the site of the building may be exhumed. Until this shall be the case, it seems to me that the evidence preponderates in favor of the Braintree-street lot.

THE ALABAMA STONE.

BY HENRY W. HAYNES.

ON May 1, 1824, Mr. Silas Dinsmore, of Mobile, Alabama, who had been elected a councillor of this society, in recognition of the compliment thus paid to him, forwarded for its cabinet the large, unwrought piece of sandstone, of a rudely conical shape and bearing an inscription in Roman letters and Arabic figures, which is now before us. It measures $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, 18 in breadth, and from 10 to 13 in thickness; and weighs 204 pounds. In regard to the inscription Dr. Haven says: "To our eyes it reads HISPAN.ET.IND.REX as plainly as the same inscription on a Spanish quarter of a dollar that is somewhat worn. The figures may be as above represented (1232), but of course they cannot be intended for a date."¹

Sir Daniel Wilson calls it "an innocent piece of blundering," and suggests that the figures may be intended for 1532; but an inspection of the original does not sustain this opinion.²

The circumstances attending the discovery of the stone were related at the time in a letter, now in the possession of the Society, written from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, April 12, 1824, by Mr. Levin Powell to Mr. Henry A. Snow, from whom Mr. Dinsmore had obtained it. The following extract contains all that is of any consequence upon that point: "In the year 1816, about which time the country around Tuscaloosa was for the first time traversed by the

¹ *Archæology of the United States . . .* by Samuel F. Haven, p. 134. (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. viii.)

² *Prehistoric Man . . .* by Daniel Wilson. 3d ed. vol. II., p. 110.



THE ALABAMA STONE.

feet of civilized man within our knowledge, the rock herewith presented was found in an extensive plain six or seven miles below this place, precisely in the same shape and with the same inscriptions which it now has. Shortly after which it was taken and brought to town, and has ever since been under my inspection and care. One circumstance, going

conclusively to show that it is not the work of some person merely for the sake of exciting speculation, is that the rock must have been taken from the falls of the Black Warrior river, or somewhere equally as distant, and carried to the place where it was found, which is a distance of six or seven miles, as rock of the same description, or any other, is not to be found anywhere nearer."

Some further information in regard to the discovery is contained in a paper read by Mr. Thomas Maxwell before the Alabama Historical Society, July 1, 1876.¹ He says: "In 1817 Mr. Thomas Scales, a worthy citizen of the neighborhood, when a boy, removed with his father from North Alabama to the new settlement at Tuskaloosa Falls. The first work they did was to clear a piece of ground on the north bank of the river, six miles from our wharf, just below the mouth of Big Creek. In clearing away the tim-

¹ Tuskaloosa; the origin of its name, its history, etc. . . . by Thomas Maxwell, p. 79.

ber they found an earthwork or embankment, in the nature of a fortification, which ran across the peninsula formed by the junction of the creek and the river. This embankment was about four feet high, and on the top of it, all the way across from river to creek, were growing the largest trees of the forest. At the foot of one of these (a large tulip-tree which stood on the very edge of the embankment), they found a stone set up against the tree, with the lower end of the stone half buried in the soil. On the stone they discovered some curious letters, which, being in Latin, they could not understand; and this, Mr. Scales said, induced his father to take the stone up to the settlement at the falls, now the town of Tuscaloosa, where it stood for a long time near to Squire Powell's office, a subject of constant speculation for the curious." . . . "As to the date upon the stone (1232), if it is a date, the theory of the writer is that the whole of the inscription had been copied from an old Spanish dollar by a portion of De Soto's men, who had been sent out in various directions searching for gold. . . . That they had such old coins with them is evident from the statement of Mr. Hudgins, who had one in possession, found not far from Valley Head, bearing the date 1114."¹ I think, however, that this theory of Mr. Maxwell's is scarcely tenable, for it was subsequent to the discoveries of Columbus that the King of Spain assumed the title of King of the Indies; but I am not able myself to suggest any more probable explanation of the meaning of the figures.

I can see no reasonable objection to supposing that the stone may be indeed a relic of the expedition of De Soto in 1540; and it appears to be not the only one remaining of that expedition. We are told that De Soto brought with him as far as Cofa (or Ocute as it is called by the anonymous Portuguese gentleman), a piece of ordnance, which he left behind at that place.² Mr. Maxwell says that this cannon

¹ Tuscaloosa; the origin of its name, its history, etc., p. 80.

² Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, B. III., ch. 3.

was seen by Mr. T. L. Hudgins, of Tuskaloosa, in 1845, "after it had been bursted by firing it off near Rockford, in Coosa county. It was found between the mouth of Hatchet Creek and Wetumpka (or sounding water), on the Coosa river. He describes it as being of brass, about four and a half feet long and four inches in the bore."¹ In his history of Alabama, Pickett relates, upon the authority of a half-breed named George Stiggins, that one of the Indian tribes of that State had still in its possession a brass kettle-drum and several shields that had been handed down among them from De Soto's time.² In the year 1832 two silver crosses were taken from a grave-mound at Coosawattee Old Town, Murray county, Georgia, associated with Indian remains. They are described and figured by Col. Charles C. Jones, who regards them as relics of De Soto's expedition, and who believes that the spot where they were found was the site where he encamped in June, 1540.³

I will take this opportunity to correct an error in regard to De Soto's expedition, into which Mr. John Gilmary Shea has fallen in his chapter entitled "Ancient Florida," in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*.⁴ He says: "We are without the means, in any of the original sources, to determine without dispute the most northerly point reached by Soto. He had evidently approached, but had learned nothing of, the Missouri river. Almost at the same time that Soto, with the naked, starving remnants of his army, was at Pacaha, another Spanish force under Vasquez de Coronado, well handled and perfectly equipped, must, in July and August, 1541, have been encamped so near that an Indian runner in a few days might have carried tidings between them. Coronado actually heard of his countryman and sent him a letter; but his messenger failed to find Soto's party." The only authority adduced by Mr. Shea for this

¹ Tuskaloosa, etc., p. 13.

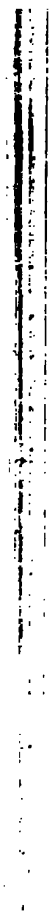
² History of Alabama, by Albert J. Pickett, vol. i., p. 20 (note).

³ Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1881, p. 619.

⁴ Vol. iv., p. 292.

statement in regard to Coronado is the *Relacion* of Jaramillo. But there is no such statement to be found in Jaramillo's narrative. What he actually says is: "The general (Coronado) wrote a letter to the governor of Harahei and Quivera, thinking that he was a Christian belonging to the lost army of Florida (*evidently meaning De Soto's expedition*). This we were induced to believe by what the Indian had told us about his manner of government and policy." But Jaramillo goes on to say: "We arrived at the last village, which they told us was called Quivera. . . . We asked if there were any other villages on this side of the river Teucarea, and they replied that beside Quivera there was only Harahei, which resembled it and was equally large. The general had the chief and the Indians who inhabited Harahei summoned before him. They came to the number of two hundred, all naked, with bows, etc."¹ Thus it appears that Mr. Shea has accepted as truth the lie told to Coronado by his Indian guide.

¹Jaramillo, *Relacion*, p. 160 (Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de varios documentos*); the Same, in Pacheco's *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xiv., p. 318; translated in Ternaux-Compan's *Voyages*, etc., ix., 376.



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